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Ceramic Acquisition Patterns at Meadow Farm, 1810-1861

Robert R. Hunter

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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CERAMIC ACQUISITION PATTERNS AT MEADOW FARM

1810 - 1861

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

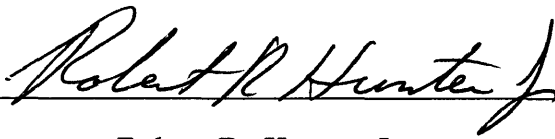
Robert R. Hunter, Jr.

1987

APPROVAL SHEET

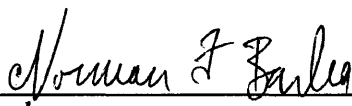
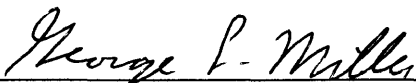
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Robert R. Hunter, Jr.

Approved, May 1987

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Norman F. Barka", written over a horizontal line.
Norman F. BarkaA handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Theodore R. Reinhart", written over a horizontal line.
Theodore R. ReinhartA handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "George L. Miller", written over a horizontal line.
George L. Miller
(Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents who hold the past dearly.

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The initial fieldwork at Meadow Farm was sponsored by the Division of Recreation and Parks, County of Henrico. Mrs. Stuart Hallman, former curator of Meadow Farm, deserves high praise for her sensitivity to the archaeological resources of the park. Likewise, Mrs. Susan Hanson, the present curator, and her assistant, Mr. Chris Gregson have enthusiastically allowed me to continued my research. Susan Hanson's comments on the early draft of this work were invaluable and greatly appreciated. Much of the writing time for this thesis was provided by the Office of Archaeological Excavation, at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation under the direction of Marley R. Brown III.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the factors that conditioned the acquisition of 19th century household ceramics at Meadow Farm, Henrico County, Virginia focusing on three households in residence from 1810-1861. The households are examined in terms of their economic position, social standing, and composition in order to understand their acquisition of ceramics.

These factors are examined in light of the archaeological data from the farm. A detailed analysis of ceramic form, decoration, and date range of manufacture is performed. The ceramic data is contrasted with architectural evidence and household accounts in order to derive a sequence of ceramic purchases. Based on this analysis, a correlation of the ceramic purchases with shifts in the households' social and economic position is attempted.

The results reveal patterns of acquisition which suggest a high correlation of ceramic purchases to economic, social, and household shifts. The study also questions the methodology and validity of many previous archaeological ceramic analyses, especially those undertaken in an urban context. It is further suggested that tighter control of social, economic, and household data is required to accurately interpret ceramics from 19th century sites.

CERAMIC ACQUISITION PATTERNS AT MEADOW FARM

1810 - 1861

INTRODUCTION

Ceramic analysis has always figured prominently in archaeological studies since the formal origin of the discipline in the late 19th century. Mankind's intimate relationship with ceramics can be traced back thousands of years when the technological process of shaping and firing clay vessels was discovered and spread throughout the world. Often, the only physical legacy of many cultures is the shattered pieces of simple clay pots. Even as cultures became more technologically and socially complex, the most basic use of ceramics in food preparation, storage, and consumption was still shared by both peasant and noble alike. In addition to the fundamental relationship with human subsistence activities, a myriad of cultural processes are embodied in the manufacture, use, and re-use of ceramics that transcend both economic and social boundaries.

It is these complex cultural processes in "modern" societies that American historical archaeologists are trying to understand and explain in light of current anthropological and sociological theories. The study of the colonial American past certainly does not rely upon just archaeological information (much less upon broken plates and dishes). The written record, as well as many other categories of material goods which have survived, provide the bulk of our primary evidence of past lifeways. Nevertheless, America's refuse heaps, whether a colonial trash pit or a modern city trash can, have supplemented and in many cases, provided independent information of historical and social concern. Although a wide range of material objects can be found in

American archaeological sites, ceramics continue to attract an immense amount of scholarly and antiquarian interest.

The purpose of this thesis is to contrast the acquisition of 19th century ceramics with architectural and household data from three households of the Sheppard family of Meadow Farm in Henrico County, Virginia. The ceramic assemblage has been derived from controlled and uncontrolled surface collections and block excavations on the property. The documentary evidence is provided in many household records including account books, receipts, and personal correspondence.

This analysis is undertaken with a critical view of the current trends in similar analyses of household ceramic assemblages. Many of these archaeological studies continue to purport a simplistic view of the economic and social context of ceramics. Particular attention is paid, in this thesis, to demonstrating the complexity of a few of the economic, social, and materials variables necessary for understanding deeper cultural processes beyond mere pattern recognition.

The time frame for this study is defined by the occupation of Mosby Sheppard (1810 - 1831), his widow, Mary G.C. Sheppard (1831 - 1845), and his son John Sheppard (1845 - 1861). Emphasis is placed on contrasting the patterns of ceramic acquisition with overall material consumption and wealth for each of these households. In doing so, four major factors related to ceramic consumption are proposed and discussed: ceramic availability, economic level, social standing, and household lifecycles. These factors are then evaluated in an attempt to determine the ultimate potential for archaeological data to provide insights into the complex issue of social stratification processes.

This research effort aims at contributing to current theoretical and methodological concerns of ceramic studies in historical archaeology. The most immediate product of this study will be the delineation of specific factors relating to the ceramic acquisition of the Sheppard family. Another important product will be the demonstration of the value of a ceramic assemblage which lacks stratigraphic information. This latter contribution will exploit the extensive body of knowledge of 19th century ceramic types to offer a chronological ordering of the Meadow Farm ceramics in the absence of other archaeological controls. The postulated ordering of these ceramics is compared with the surviving household accounts of ceramic purchases to derived quantity and costs estimates.

Household accounts of ceramic purchases are very rare for the first half of the 19th century. The presentation of the Sheppard's account information will illustrate the value of such data to archaeological interpretation. More importantly, however, the account data should provide one of the few quantifiable examples of ceramic purchases from which others may draw comparisons.

This thesis is organized by chapters. The first chapter reviews a body of archaeological literature for ceramic studies with an emphasis on 19th century ceramics as somewhat of a background to the methodological context of this analysis. The studies include works ranging from particularistic studies of historical and antiquarian nature to the most recent ceramic analyses concerned with social and economic phenomena. The majority of the discussion centers on the literature in historical archaeology most relevant to consumer behavior.

The second chapter provides the historical and archaeological background of the Sheppard family at Meadow Farm. This background information includes a brief overview of the family's occupation of the property in the context of the historical development of Henrico County. A review of the available primary and secondary documentary evidence is given. The various archaeological studies undertaken at Meadow Farm are characterized in light of the intended analytic goals of this study.

Based on the review of the current archaeological literature and the case history provided in the two previous chapters, Chapter Three discusses factors influencing ceramic acquisition for the Sheppard households. Material, economic, social, and other variables related to household consumption are presented.

In Chapter Four, the ceramic data from Meadow Farm is interpreted. Both the archaeological and documentary evidence provides a suggested patterning of ceramic acquisition by the Sheppard households. The proposed association of vessels to specific households is made based upon the manufacturing date range and the known periods of ceramic popularity.

The suggested chronology of ceramic patterning is discussed in Chapter Five in contrast with architectural, economic, and household data. This effort results in an interpretation of the archaeological and documentary evidence. Correlations of ceramic acquisition patterns such as changes in household status, architecture and economic standing are illustrated.

Chapter Six concludes with an evaluation of the previously identified factors which influence ceramic acquisition and identifies problem areas of the study. The conclusion of the study suggests that much greater controls over social factors must occur before archaeological data can contribute

significantly to questions of social concerns. It is also underlines the importance of understanding the historical context of archaeological evidence and the value of historical documentation especially in studies of consumer behavior.

CHAPTER 1.

TRENDS IN 19TH CENTURY CERAMIC STUDIES

The past trends of popular, antiquarian, and scholarly ceramic research are important foundations of present-day thinking. The history and development of ceramic research within the field of historical archaeology is particularly important for the understanding of current research orientations. Ceramics have been the subject of more study than other kind of artifacts for several reasons. Ceramics are fragile enough to be discarded when damaged yet durable enough to be preserved as sherds in the ground. These sherds often provide the primary evidence for dating sites and understanding the chronological relationships between layers and features. Furthermore, much about the basic function of ceramics, food preparation, storage, and consumption can be correlated with household economics from archaeological sherds.

A primary task of the pioneering historical archaeologists was the development of ceramic chronologies for dating purposes. Although ceramic chronology is still an important research area, many archaeologists are actively investigating other economic and social dimensions of ceramics. This chapter briefly reviews the major works along these lines as background to the subsequent analysis of the 19th century ceramic assemblage of the Sheppard family.

The first efforts to place archaeological ceramics into a useful chronology and classification scheme involved 17th and 18th century assemblages, as

American colonial sites were first considered as archaeological subjects. Many of these archaeological studies resulted in the encyclopedic compilation of ware types and vessels forms with the ultimate goal of establishing chronologies. One of the earliest substantive contributions to understanding the spectrum of American and English ceramics is found in the works of Ivor Noël Hume's (1969, 1972) excavations at Colonial Williamsburg.

Upon adopting a basic ceramic typology, the discipline began taking a quantitative approach to artifact analysis. Stanley South's (1975) attempt to formalize ceramic typology in an effort to quantify archaeological assemblages resulted in his Ceramic Mean Dating formula. The purpose of that analytic technique is to provide a mean date of occupation of a given archaeological site. The mean date is derived from a statistical formulation of the frequency of ceramic types within an assemblage based on a date range of their known manufacture. South (1972) has also emerged as the major proponent of the search for re-occurring cultural patterns within America's historic past based on the patterning of certain artifact types.

As ceramic dating and identification became more sophisticated, some archaeologists turned to unlocking some of the functional, economic, and social aspects embodied in ceramic forms. Many studies of the late 1960's and early 1970's (influenced by work of social historians and the "New" processual archaeology) began to explore the potential of ceramics for reflecting economic and cultural factors (Stone 1970; Miller and Stone 1970). In the absence of historical data, an interest in delineating economic and social status of site occupants developed. This concern for demonstrating relative social and economic status set the stage for more recent developments in ceramic analysis.

In 1972, Winterthur Museum sponsored a conference devoted to the study of ceramics in America (Quimby 1973). This conference brought together a diverse group of scholars, most having an archaeological background, to explore the current issues in ceramic studies. The purpose of the collaboration was to "focus on and to interpret the cultural information with which all ceramic objects are invested" (Lanmon 1973). With this charge, the contributed papers addressed issues of technical and historical aspects of American and English ceramic manufacture, and examined ceramics found in colonial English, Spanish, and French sites.

Perhaps the conference's most important product was the concise summary of the anthropological relevancy of ceramic studies. Bernard Fontana (1973) provided this in his keynote address. Building upon basic anthropological tenets introduced by Ralph Linton and Lewis Binford, Fontana delivered a provocative challenge for the direction of ceramic research of the historic period. He specifically suggested that the elements of form, meaning, use, and function be applied to the analysis of ceramics. He argued that understanding these interrelated qualities in terms of the culture which conceived, produced, and used a given pot or plate is ultimately the key to understanding the "language" of ceramics.

For the most part, Fontana's discourse is restricted to the theoretical realm of the possibilities of what ceramic research of modern societies can produce. Although he offers ethnohistorical examples from the Papigo Indians, his most practical advice concerns the adoption of linguistic models for discovering the interrelationships between the makers and users of ceramics. In reconstructing the cultural "grammar" inherent in a ceramic product, Fontana feels there is a critical need to know terminology and its meaning as

used by potters, shippers, importers, and consumers. Understanding the intended function of ceramics is as equally important.

Although many of Fontana's insights into the direction of ceramic research have been embraced by current day archaeologists, his conclusions at that time were rather noncommittal. He states:

To conclude by presenting a formula for divining from American ceramics the social history of our people would be ideal. As a museum professional, I like to think that this is the goal of our displays and our collections of artifacts. But I have no formula; merely suggestions, hints, and leads. If we use our imagination, there is no doubt we will one day be able to appreciate ceramics in their cultural dimensions as the social documents they are (1973:12).

In spite of Fontana's inability to commit to a specific research direction, several actual studies concerning ceramics from Plymouth, Massachusetts and St. Mary's City, Maryland displayed reasons for optimism. Of these, James Deetz's (1973) approach to the ceramics recovered from Plymouth dating between 1620 - 1835, employs a systems approach to understanding and explaining their cultural context.

The holistic view of culture that characterizes anthropology is particularly crucial in archaeological explanation, since it is only through treating artifacts as parts of whole cultural systems that understanding is gained from the material remains of the past. The use of archaeological data to explain rather than to simply describe depends on the effective explication of those critical links that exist between human behavior and its material products. **Any discussion of ceramics and their use in early America must therefore consider the place of ceramics in the culture and their relationships to other aspects of that culture.** (1973:15).

Deetz formulated an explanatory model for changes in ceramic use during two centuries and developed a series of propositions and test hypotheses for it. His basic premise is that patterns of archaeological ceramic assemblage will exhibit the divisions of three successive cultural systems operating in New

England. These cultural systems, as defined by Deetz, were: the Stuart yeoman period 1620-1660, the Anglo-American period 1660-1760, and a period influence by the Georgian tradition, 1760-1835. Deetz saw the presence of ceramics as a function of four factors, availability, need, function, and social status common to all three periods. This conference paper was to have a profound influence on the direction of ceramic studies as ceramic analyses diverged along two main lines of inquiry: the problem of availability and that of socio-economic status. The latter issue was taken up in the same conference by historians and archaeologists working in St. Mary's City, Maryland.

The subject of the study there was the John Hicks site, a mid-18th century house lot. Lois Carr (1973) developed the social and economic context of John Hicks from data derived from career studies of Hicks and five other neighboring households. In addition, over three hundred estate inventories between the years 1732 to 1763 were analyzed. By doing so, Carr attempted to understand the relationship between household wealth that was invested in income producing goods (such as livestock and seed) versus monies spent on consumable goods such as ceramics, furniture, and silver.

A later contribution was also to come from work conducted at St. Mary's City during the early 1970s and published by George L. Miller (1974). This time the analysis of archaeological ceramics came from a strictly 19th century context. It is one of the earliest attempts to describe and interpret a 19th century assemblage in terms of identifying patterns of consumption. The site, known as Tabbs Purchase, was occupied by several 19th century tenant farmer households. By reconstructing the sequence of the ceramic tableware acquisitions (specifically, green shell edge, blue shell edge, and blue willow plates), Miller contended that the owners attempted to build matched sets of

dishes over time. Thus, by a careful examination of subtle changes in shell edge rim designs, Miller was able to discern patterns of consumer behavior in the absence of documentary evidence. The household of mediocre economic means appeared to have purchased only a few plates at any given time and as Miller suggests, perhaps to replace normal household breakage.

Another Maryland inventory study, this time focused on 1840s records, conducted by Hermann et al. (1975), came as an immediate outgrowth of Miller's work. Their study sought information about ceramic expenditure patterns among the various economic levels within the county. They made general economic profiles of the study group through census data and tax lists. Then, data was extracted from inventories and categorized as to one of five ceramic analytic types: common earthenwares, stonewares, whitewares, porcelain, and miscellaneous. The concluding observations recognized the trend of a greater occurrence of the more expensive porcelains within the higher economic levels. Perhaps their most insightful contribution was the recognition that a general limit to total ceramic value existed no matter how high the total estate value.

The issue of recognizing ethnicity in the archaeological record was somewhat parallel to the search for material correlates of economic and social status (Baker 1978; Schyuler 1980). The 1970's were a time of focused interest in minority groups in America. There was, and still is, an immense interest in the material remains of Afro-American cultures. The question of status and ethnic differentiation as reflected by archaeological remains was examined by John Otto (1977, 1980) at a 19th century Georgia plantation.

Otto demonstrated two important differences between the ceramics assemblage of the plantation owner, the plantation overseer, and the black

slaves. The most immediate difference was that the more expensive 19th century transfer-printed wares were used by the landowners while the cheaper shell-edged wares appeared on the occupation sites of the overseer and slaves. The second, and more subtle difference was the difference in foodways among the plantation residents. By examining the frequency of serving bowls to flatware, Otto postulated that the slave's diet consisted of more liquid based, pot-cooked meals.

In an effort to break away from the typological concepts embodied in the previous analyses of 17th and 18th century ceramics, George Miller (1980) presented a major alternative to classifying 19th century ceramics. Relying upon an examination of the records of potters, merchants, and consumers from the period, Miller presented a classification scheme primarily based on the type of decoration used rather than a distinction in ware type.

Miller also developed sets of price index values for various vessel forms for the first half of the 19th century. He constructed these indices by establishing the relative ranking of ceramic prices as listed in various potters' price fixing lists of the period. Cream-colored ware, apparently the most inexpensive ceramic tableware available, served as the baseline. The painted and printed wares were at the higher end of the price index range. By applying these indices to six ceramic assemblages, Miller was able to demonstrate a relative economic ranking of these site's occupants.

Miller's innovative analysis offered one of the first opportunities to perform comparative analysis of 19th century ceramic since South's mean dating technique. The virtue of the ceramic index techniques is that it provides insights into the relative economic context of a given site in the absence of documentary evidence. Many current archaeological studies reflect

the widespread usage of the Miller indices, particularly those studies of 19th century urban sites (Fenton and Shultz 1983; Sheppard 1985; Spencer-Wood 1984). In addition, the question concerning the entire spectrum of potter's terminology, availability, costs, and marketing has influenced the direction of 19th century studies (Miller and Smart 1986).

In 1984, Miller (1984) organized a group of papers on the marketing of ceramics in 18th and 19th century papers in a special issue of Winterthur Portfolio. These papers addressed the problem of reconstructing what may have been available to the historical consumer. By looking at the industrialization of the English potters and the consequent development of the American marketing effort, Miller illustrated the process of how ceramics were shipped, sold to middlemen, and finally dispersed to the consumer. This very basic understanding of what ceramics were available and how much they cost is necessary if economic and social interpretation of archaeological ceramics are to have validity. More research remains in order to understand the American ceramic market fully.

A most innovative use of the Miller index, a paper by Bernard Herman (1984), was included in the same issue of the Winterthur Portfolio. Herman used an assemblage from the site of Thomas Mendall in Wilmington, Delaware but did not restrict himself to the ceramic assemblage in order to interpret the economic and social aspects of Mendenhall's household. By contrasting the architectural and documentary evidence with the ceramic assemblage, Herman demonstrated the need for a more thorough, interdisciplinary understanding of socio-economic variables of the past.

A principal contribution of the paper is the premise that different social and personal values may be attached to the two classes of material objects

which are in this case, architecture and ceramics. Architecture, Herman feels, should reflect values of anticipation and aspiration within a household:

Houses frequently are built at the threshold of success rather than at its fulfillment. They anticipate a condition within the values and beliefs of a particular culture or community and, therefore, stand as signs of such values and beliefs (1984:85).

Ceramics, on the other hand, being less durable by their nature, are acquired, consumed, and discarded throughout a household's life. Herman proposes that:

ceramics do not anticipate success, but, rather suggest the degree to which an individual has fulfilled or failed in his vision (1984:86).

Herman's paper is an appropriate reflection of the interdisciplinary approach currently being adopted by some historical archaeologists. This melding of anthropology, social history, and economics should serve as a primary model in historical archaeology for years to come.

The next chapter develops the historical background of the Mosby Sheppard family and his descendants as preamble to the examination of specific economic and social factors of ceramic acquisition. The approach taken follows the lines of research advocated by Herman and systematically develops the economic and, to a lesser extent, the social context of the Sheppard family. As such, a specific attempt is made to contrast the architectural and economic evidence with the ceramic evidence.

CHAPTER 2.

THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF MEADOW FARM

Meadow Farm is located west of Richmond, in Henrico County Virginia (Figure 1). The restored farmhouse served as the home of the Sheppard family from 1810 until the acquisition of the property by the County in 1978. The property was donated to the County by Elizabeth Adams Crump, wife of the late General Sheppard Crump, the last family member to live at Meadow Farm. The house and property was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1978. Since that time, a number of historical, architectural, and archaeological investigations have been conducted in the wake of the property being developed into a historical farm and park. This chapter provides a historical backdrop to Meadow Farm in order to place the households occupying the property in a broader context.

Settlement and Economic History Summary of Henrico County 1607-1860

The history of colonial settlement in Henrico County can be traced to the first Jamestown years when Christopher Newport and John Smith first explored the fall line of the James River. In 1634, the geographical-political area of Henrico County was established as one of the eight original shires of Virginia. Settlements in the early part of the 17th century were restricted to locations along the James River floodplain. The river corridor provided easy and cheap transportation and was the location of the best agricultural soils.

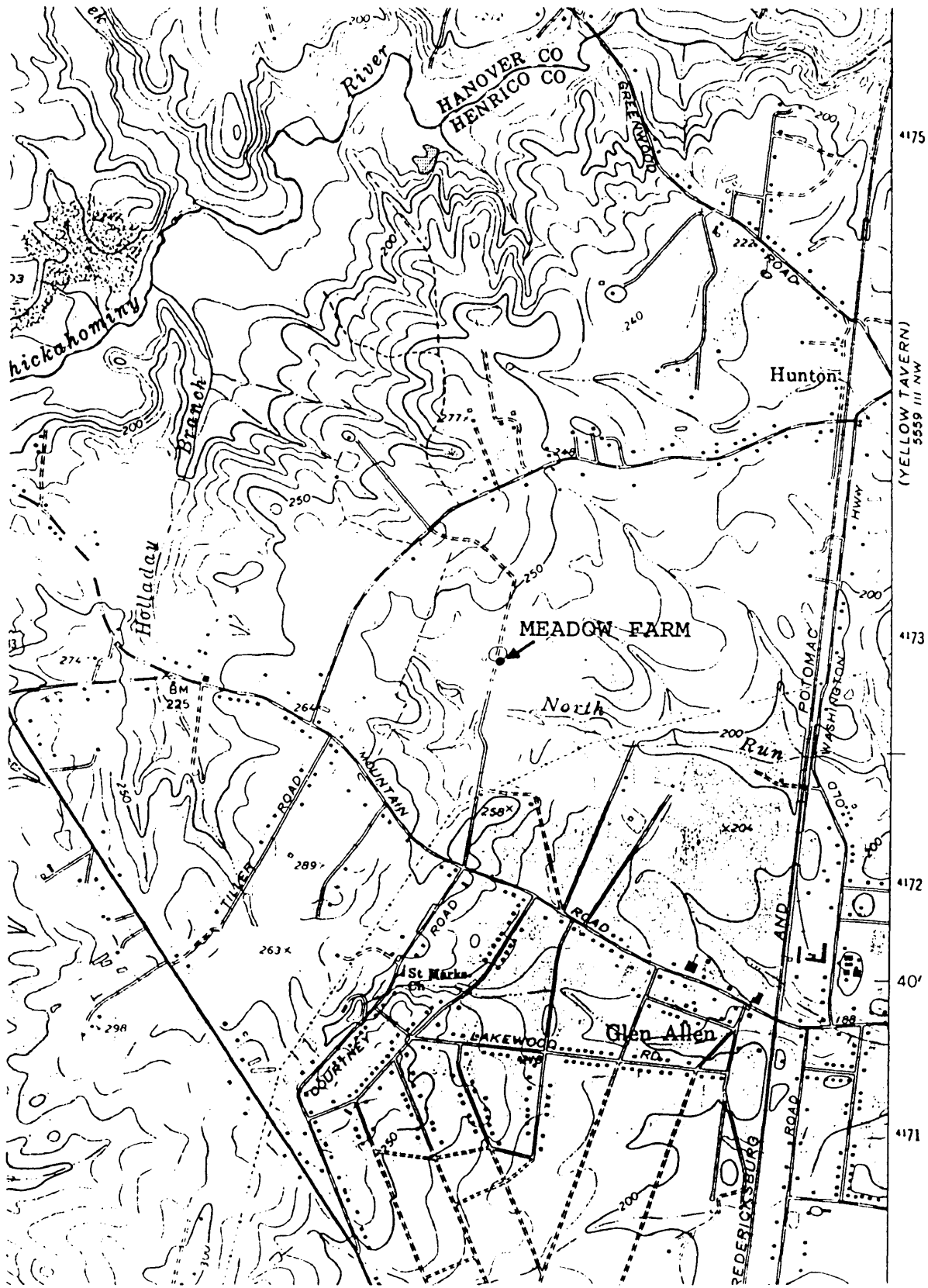


Figure 1.--Location of Meadow Farm
(U.S.G.S. Quad Glen Allen, VA)

By 1703, the population of the county had grown to 2413 (Beverly 1705). The main transportation routes remained along the James River but an increasing amount of settlement took place along the Chickahominy River and its tributaries. Paths and roads aided in establishing new areas of settlement in the interior lands between these two rivers. Large land grants were made throughout most of the colonial period, which helped encourage the settlement of the County.

At the mid-point of the 18th century, the population was approximately 2700 people (Mouer et al. 1980). The chartering of Richmond in 1737 at the Falls formalized it as the central place for the area. Richmond quickly developed an urban character and performed many services for the rural county residents. Major roads developed during this period and an increasing trend towards interior settlement occurred. Agricultural production of wheat and other small grains eventually surpassed tobacco production.

The County's population had grown to almost 10,000 by 1790, with another 5000 people residing in the town of Richmond. In 1756, the Henrico County courthouse was moved to Richmond and the state capitol was also relocated there in 1782, attesting to its central geographic and economic location. The period after the American Revolution was a time of great growth and change in the county. The production of tobacco products, flour milling, and coal mining rapidly increased, accompanied by the construction of canals and navigations and the opening of a number of privately-improved turnpikes.

As the force of the Industrial Revolution appeared with its forges, foundries, saw mill, and canals, the tobacco-oriented aristocratic classes of the county succumbed to huge debts and were forced to sell off land to new a

generation of farmers. A middle class quickly arose with the coming of these farmers, businessmen, and merchants.

By 1820, the rural population of the County had stabilized to approximately 12,000 and had reached only 28,000 by 1850 ((Mouer et al. 1980). In contrast, the urban population of Richmond had reached nearly 38,000 by 1860 and ranked as the 25th largest city in the United States (Manarin and Dowdey 1984). Settlement of the "interior", between the James and Chickahominy, was nearly complete consisting of small, dispersed farms. Mills were erected on most of the small, interior streams. The milling center in Richmond helped it become the largest exporter of flour on the east coast until it was surpassed by Baltimore in the middle of the century.

The building of the railroads, beginning in the 1830's, had a profound effect on the industrialization of Richmond. However, the county continued to maintain a rural flavor. In 1850, slightly under half of the county was considered to be improved farmland with the remainder being forest land. Wheat, corn and other grains were the primary cash crops.

The importance of agriculture to the county's farmer is reflected in the emphasis placed on scientific farming methods for the period 1830-1860. During that time, several agricultural and farmers' societies were formed. These societies encouraged the study of scientific agricultural practices by holding regular meetings and establishing competitions at annual fairs (Manarin and Dowdey 1984).

Prior to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the county was very much a progressive farming community. The availability of good transportation and communications networks aided in the flow of commodities to and from the urban center of Richmond. Richmond also served as a social, political and

ethnic hub for the dissemination of new ideas and concepts. In contrast, the rural nature of the county helped maintain long-standing family and religious values. It is this setting which serves as the cultural backdrop for the Sheppard family.

Meadow Farm: The Sheppard Family

The recorded history of the Sheppard family begins with the acquisition of 200 acres in Henrico County by William Sheppard in 1713. The property was located approximately two miles south of the Chickahominy River. William Sheppard later added an additional 200 acres to the holdings.

It is unclear from the documentary evidence, exactly what activities, if any, were conducted on the property until the early 19th century. At that time, Mosby Sheppard, great-grandson of William had acquired the land. It is known that Mosby resided in Richmond in 1805 and it isn't until 1810 that documentary evidence is found for the construction of a story-and-a-half frame structure over an English basement at Meadow Farm.

Mosby Sheppard was born in 1775 and may have built the 1810 farmhouse for his bride, Mary C. Austin of Hanover County. They had 7 children: 3 sons and 4 daughters. Mosby Sheppard was a small planter, for the most part, although he served as Sheriff of Henrico County in 1827-1828, a Justice of the Peace, and as a member of the local militia.

Mosby Sheppard is best known for his role in squelching the largest slave uprising ever attempted in Virginia. This uprising, called "Gabriel's Insurrection" (for its leader), may have involved as many as 10,000 slaves throughout central Virginia. Gabriel was an educated slave owned by Thomas Prosser of "Brookfield", a nearby farm. He had conceived a plot for his fellow

slaves to kill their white owners and then assemble to march on the city of Richmond.

The implementation of Gabriel's plot was scheduled for the night of August 30, 1800. However, two of Mosby Sheppard's slaves, Pharoah and Tom, revealed the plans to Sheppard on the morning prior to the anticipated attack. Acting upon this information, Mosby informed Governor James Monroe of the impending insurrection. The governor called out the militia and posted troops around Richmond. The rebellion, postponed by one night due to a heavy rainstorm, was eventually checked and many of its suspected leaders arrested and later hanged. Pharoah and Tom were purchased from Mosby Sheppard by the State of Virginia and subsequently emancipated for their actions.

Mosby Sheppard died in 1831 leaving his estate, valued at over \$10,000 to his wife. His estate included 21 slaves at Meadow Farm. His wife continued to manage the farm for the next fifteen years.

Of all Mosby Sheppard's children very little is known, with the exception of his third son, John Mosby Sheppard. John Sheppard was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical College in 1840 and began his practice from an office in the front yard of Meadow Farm. In 1845, he purchased the farm and many of the household possessions from his mother who continued to live at Meadow Farm until she died in 1851. A year later, in 1846, John married Virginia Ann Young of Caroline County. He continued to farm the property and practice medicine. John and Virginia Sheppard were to have 10 children, 2 boys and 8 girls. Dr. Sheppard died in 1877 and his wife owned Meadow Farm until her death in 1889. At that time, the farm passed into the hands of their son, Mickleborough Young Sheppard.

Summary of Archaeological Investigations

In conjunction with the nomination of Meadow Farm to the National Register of Historic Places in 1977, the County undertook various archaeological investigations (Figure 2). The archaeological investigations were prompted by two types of needs. The first consisted of "salvage" work or the recovery of archaeological data before being destroyed by construction activities of the park facilities. The second type of archaeological work was the investigation of outbuilding locations for the interpretive purposes of the museum.

In October 1977, the Virginia Research Center for Archeology (VRCA) conducted a preliminary Phase I survey of the property (Lucchetti 1978). Since the survey was conducted primarily for planning purposes, only those areas thought to have a high probability of containing archaeological materials were examined. The survey located seven prehistoric sites and four historic sites on the property. A small number of diagnostic artifacts were recovered from this survey.

A later investigation by Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) archaeologists consisted of intensive testing of two prehistoric sites which would be impacted by improvements to the park (Cleland 1978). Also, in April 1978, the County contracted with William T. Buchannan, Jr. to investigate various areas of the yard immediately adjacent to the standing farmhouse in order to locate the remains of associated outbuildings (Buchannan 1978).

Buchannan's testing included the partial excavation of a root cellar or small ice house, a building foundation believed to have served as John Sheppard's doctor's office and another foundation of the purported kitchen site. These excavations recovered a large quantity of ceramic and glass

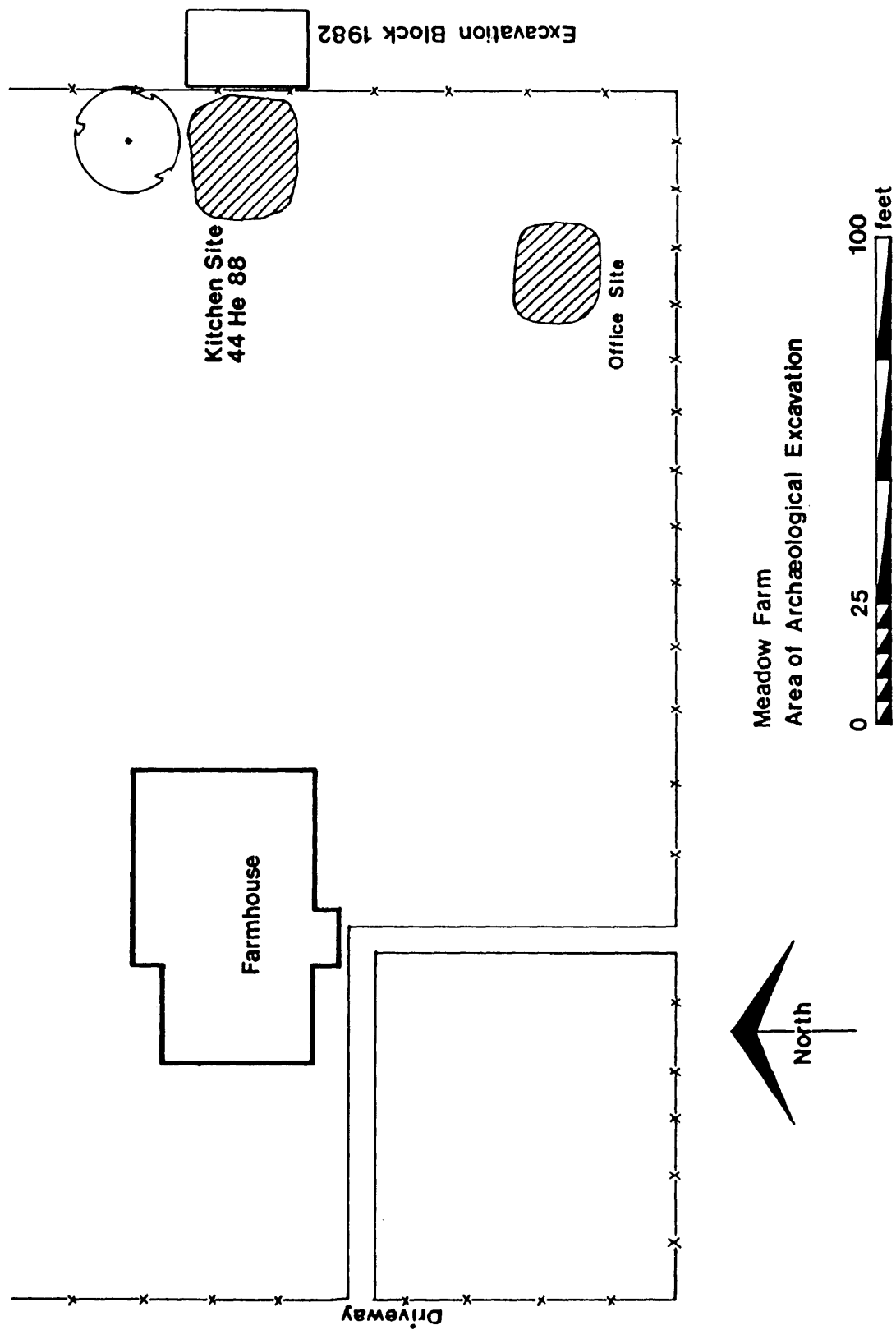


Figure 2.--Location of Archaeological Excavations at Meadow Farm

artifacts dating from the early 19th century through the early 20th century. Exploratory trenching with a backhoe was also carried out in the hope of locating other yard features such as privies. This effort had little success. A brief test excavation was also conducted on the remains of a brick kiln thought to date to the construction of the house.

In the summer of 1978, L. Daniel Mouer of VCU's Regional Preservation Office made periodic visits to the park to monitor archaeologically-sensitive areas during the preliminary earth-disturbing activities related to the construction of park facilities. These visits resulted in additional surface collections of several sites. Mouer also undertook supervision of an archaeological excavation of a recently demolished circa 1910 barn. This excavation was sponsored by the County's Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) program. Its primary purpose was to locate an earlier barn shown on an 1812 Mutual Assurance Society policy. Although the excavation was quite limited, some inconclusive evidence of earlier 19th century features was discovered.

In July 1979, the County contracted with this writer to completely excavate the barn site, again using YCC participants as a labor force (Hunter 1979). In completing the excavation, little physical evidence for an earlier barn was recovered. However, a filled-in well was discovered beneath the early 20th century barn which may have provided drinking water for barnyard animals in the earlier part of the 19th century. The upper fill of the well was only partially excavated, limiting the full interpretation of the feature.

In November 1980, the County again enlisted the services of this writer to conduct a more intensive survey of the park property (Hunter 1982). That survey resulted in the testing and evaluation of the known archaeological sites and the discovery of additional historic-period remains. A large area east of

the main house had been recently plowed to prepare for the replanting of a 19th century orchard. As a result of the plowing, a large quantity of artifacts had been exposed on this surface. A controlled-surface collection was undertaken to delineate artifact concentrations indicative of activity areas. Other uncontrolled surface collections were made periodically by museum personnel, as rainfall and erosion of the soil exposed additional artifacts. These surface collections provided the bulk of ceramic sherds in the collection.

An area of particularly heavy concentration was observed immediately east of the previously tested kitchen. In order to understand the nature of this deposit, a 50' x 3' test trench was excavated on a north-south axis through the center of the surface concentration. Although the recent deep plowing had apparently destroyed any vertical stratigraphy, the density and the large size of the ceramic and glass sherds indicated that the area had been a primary refuse deposit used by the Sheppards.

Additional testing of the trash deposit was conducted in 1982 by this writer in order to recover a larger sample of artifacts (Hunter 1983). This testing consisted of 12 five foot squares, excavated to subsoil. The entire ceramic assemblage from this excavation was recovered from the plow zone deposits.

Documentary and Architectural Studies

Some of the first historical research at Meadow Farm were undertaken by Gary Norman between 1977 and 1980. He conducted deed research in an effort to reconstruct the original boundaries of the property. Norman also built a scale model of the farmhouse as an interpretive device, showing its architectural evolution.

Museum personnel had to rely heavily upon interns from Virginia Commonwealth University to conduct other historical research. One of the major contributions came from Karen Cullison (1980) who undertook an analysis of inventory data from contemporaries of Mosby Sheppard. Her study included an analysis of room inventories in order to recreate period rooms for the farmhouse. Of particular interest was the attempt to isolate luxury furnishings from a sample of Henrico and Hanover County inventories. Her research also transcribed entries of household purchases from the Sheppard family account books.

The architectural evolution of the farmhouse was studied by Susan T. Cook (1982). Relying upon recorded purchases of construction materials and direct architectural evidence, Cook attempted to reconstruct the sequence of architectural changes of the farmhouse and related outbuildings. This periodization of architectural changes provides an excellent contrast to patterns of household lifeways and other material expenditures.

A final study of note is the on-going compilation of expenditures and income related to the agricultural activities of the farm. Although the full analysis of this material has yet to be conducted, this information may potentially provide a most important contribution to the study of agricultural practices and animal husbandry.

CHAPTER 3.

THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR CERAMIC CONSUMPTION AT MEADOW FARM

Many diverse theories are available for explicating the role of ceramic vessels in the three Sheppard households at Meadow Farm. Likewise, many diverse methodologies borrowed from as many different disciplines can be applied to the subject matter. One of the most visible issues in historical archaeology today is the search for social class in the archaeological record. Drawing upon the Marxist's approaches in vogue with cultural anthropologists and social historians, archaeologists have sought to elucidate the material correlates of social stratification using a systemic approach (Spriggs 1984; Rathje 1974; Pebbles and Kus 1977).

Such an approach acknowledges that cultures are best understood as a series of subsystems with the understanding of how subsystems are interconnected and how variables change over time. Notably, this treatment is closely aligned with the "holistic" approach to viewing cultures that is used by most cultural anthropologists (Plog 1975).

A systems approach is not intended to obsfurate the understanding of cultural phenomena in historical terms. Nor does it mean to reduce the human condition to a series of mathematical equations. The underlying premise behind the approach finds that socially relevant information contained in the archaeological record can best be illustrated by deduction from models of social organizatio (Binford 1962; Schiffer 1976; Handsman 1982). Such

modelling facilitates the integration of social theory and archaeological and historical data.

The concept of social stratification has been a main issue for all the social sciences in the past several decades (Bendix and Lipset 1953; Service 1975). Different approaches have been taken for explaining the existence of social stratification (Saunders 1982). The most widely used approach in recent archaeological literature has been that of economic determinism. This school of thought, influenced directly by the works of Marx and Engels (1970), views social stratification as a conscious attempt for one economic class to maintain coercive power over another.

Other approaches include that of functionalism, a school of thought which views social stratification as a necessity for any society to survive. As such, social stratification is seen as a universal phenomena and has occurred in all prehistoric and historic societies. Social inequality is an unconsciously developed device to ensure that the most important societal positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons. A functional perspective of social stratification sees the phenomenon as a necessity of human survival (Durkheim 1964; Murdock 1949).

Historical archaeologists have not been very successful in the application of these theoretical frameworks to archaeological data from historic-period sites. When used, usually the results have been over-simplified models of social stratification. Much of the blame for these naive approaches can be traced to the poor integration of the more mature theoretical works generated by other disciplines. This problem has been compounded by the adoptance of the hypothectico-deductive methodology advocated initially by those studying prehistoric and/or non-industrialized societies.

The advocacy of the hypothetico-deductive method within the field of archaeology can be traced to the development of the "New Archaeology" in the major works of Lewis Binford (1962; 1972). Within the field of historical archaeology in general, there has been a continuing argument surrounding its theoretical orientation. In one camp, anthropologists claim the need for historical archaeology to produce comparative data that can be applied to global cultural situations (Schuyler 1970). On the other hand, historians are most interested in seeking historical facts to explain specific historical situations and trends.

Many studies have resulted in only the archaeological confirmation of known historical facts. This is particularly true for excavation of 18th and 19th century sites. Time after time, site reports confirm that poor people could not have afforded expensive ceramics. In many cases, long, drawn-out analyses are conducted to show that domestic sites contain artifacts of a domestic character. Hopefully, historical archaeologists will eventually discover other avenues of questioning, relying more upon historical documentation and the methodologies of other disciplines.

In spite of many of these shortcomings and the ultimate utility of the social stratification theoretical framework, it is increasingly clear that the prerequisite for deeper cultural examinations of the social stratification process will be the rigorous control of archaeological and historical data. In order to achieve this control, greater attention needs to be focused on identifying a broader range of social and economic influences on ceramic consumption. The acquisition and use of household ceramics in the various Sheppard households was conditioned by many factors. Deetz (1973:19) previously proposed four major factors related to the presence of ceramics in a cultural system:

availability, need, function, and social status. This study adopts the spirit of those factors but attempts to model them more precisely. These interconnecting variables which operated within the Sheppard households included: availability, economic standing, social position, and household lifecycles. These factors are discussed as follows:

Availability

Perhaps the most basic issue in which to begin to understand ceramic acquisition is to find out what was available to the consumer. At first glance, this issue may not appear to be of much consequence to archaeological interpretations. However, it is critical for one to understand the range of wares available to the consumer and their accompanying marketing system. Without understanding what wares cost, how they were purchased, what were their intended functions, and what was fashionable, analysis of archaeological assemblage can not proceed beyond the level of descriptive typologies and general pattern recognition. In spite of this, some studies still emphasize the analysis of sherds without consideration of their initial form or function (South 1975; Linebaugh 1982).

It is becoming increasingly clear that ceramics need to be understood in their original context. Not only is vessel form a critical basis from which to build interpretation, the interrelationship of ceramic groups is important. A prime example is the ability to contrast the acquisition of "sets" versus individual items, i.e. what items were intended to constitute a set and what items served a particular individual function.

Archaeologists have relied upon the study of documents to provide the primary evidence of how ceramics were produced, marketed, and purchased.

Most ceramic studies have been heavily biased towards questions of identification which provide information on the chronologies, typologies, and technology of pottery production. While these have provided a general outline of products, they have not provided specific enough information at the consumer level. One avenue of research has investigated the availability of ceramics at the local, consumer level through country store merchants records and probate records. The largest obstacle in using these records has been the ability to "translate" the merchants' ceramic names into usable archaeological information (Potter 1982; Douglas 1982).

The need to understand the historical context of ceramic nomenclature systems and the subsequent consumer costs has resulted in research on the marketing system of ceramics, particularly English ceramics, from their production to consumption. Using business records from potters, importers, jobbers, and country stores, archaeologists are beginning to address such issues of ceramic consumption (Miller 1984). These records and period advertisements have identified the wide range of wares available to the 19th century consumer.

Economic standing

Economic standing is relatively easy to reconstruct using tax lists, probate records and other documents. What is more difficult to determine is the ability to purchase consumable goods. It is this aspect which defines the limitations of a given household to make purchases. Based on certain archaeological studies, ceramics could be suggested to be a very sensitive index of economic level (Spencer-Wood 1987). However, other studies have strived to show the overall pattern of material culture in which ceramics are

demonstrated to nominally account for a small percentage of the household capital (Hermann et al. 1975).

A distinction between accumulated wealth versus disposable income is necessary to determine the economic factors limiting ceramic purchases (Carr and Walsh 1980). The former is more easily captured from the tax records of personal property and land. Unless household accounts exist, it is hard to reconstruct actual income levels of the Sheppards from Henrico County's 19th century records.

Social position

Class membership is possibly one of the best correlates with consumer behavior in terms of quantity and quality of goods purchased. Although many definitions of what constitutes a class have been forwarded, the important consideration for this study is that within a social stratification system, certain goods and services are accorded certain status. Important correlates of class membership include: occupation, type of residence, wealth, education and possessions (Shephard 1985). In most instances, historical evidence of occupation, religion, and wealth are sufficient enough to deduce the relative social position of individuals or households. In cases when documentary evidence is absent, archaeologists have tried to deduce social status from material remains.

However, given the range of materials that a 19th century site may contain, social status is certainly the most difficult to reconstruct from an archaeological perspective. The range of individual taste, however, should correspond closely to the range of behaviors that are acceptable within any given social class. Many of the conscious and unconscious consumer decisions

are conditioned by peers and in general, by the prevalent community fashions. The latter can be somewhat reconstructed by drawing upon research conducted in the decorative arts and period, fashion-oriented literature.

Household Lifecycles

With the recent emphasis on archaeology of the household, an increasing interest in understanding the composition and transitions of households as they relate to material acquisitions has developed (Deetz 1982; Beaudry 1984). The use of the concept of household lifecycles differs from the mere assembling of a family biography. It is the repetitive and cyclical nature of household lifecycles which provides the basis for generalizing about family response to transitions of marriage, birth, career change, or death.

The understanding of these household factors is very important for the interpretation of a ceramic assemblage. Many households are not alike in terms of size and composition. Thus, it is particularly vital to understand the identifiable transitions in the Sheppard household. A correlation in the material acquisition patterns, of the Sheppards with major changes in household size, composition, and career status should be evident from the documentary, architectural, and archeological record.

In summary, this chapter has delineated four influential factors operating within the cultural system of the Sheppard family. Although these factors act together in producing the consumer behavior in question, it is hoped by isolating each one, that the relative significance of each can be judged. The specific examination of these factors in the next two chapters will provide a critique of the usefulness of archaeological data in understanding ceramic acquisition and related consumer behavior.

CHAPTER 4.

CERAMIC ACQUISITION AT MEADOW FARM

Between 1978 and 1982 over 4200 sherds of historic-period ceramics were collected from Meadow Farm. The majority of this assemblage comes from a rather broad surface context. Those artifacts that come from discrete areas have not retained any stratigraphic relationships due partly to the excavation techniques that were employed. Overall, the interpretative value of these artifacts has been somewhat compromised since many of the standard archaeological controls were not present.

The lack of specific depositional integrity should not prevent an attempt to demonstrate the research potential of the artifacts. In the absence of stratigraphic controls, the very rural nature of the site lends itself to the research value of the collection. Because most 19th century ceramic analyses have been derived from urban sites where ownerships and occupation of lots may change frequently, it is difficult to associate even discrete deposits with a specific household. However, there is little doubt that any ceramic recovered from Meadow Farm, and other such sites can be directly associated with the household activities.

In this chapter, the analysis of the Meadow Farm ceramic assemblage is presented. Although both the archaeological and documentary evidence is incomplete, this analysis will attempt to associate the ceramic assemblages to the various households. By relying upon dates of manufacture and the known ranges of popularity, an argument is presented for the ceramic acquisition

pattern at the Farm. In some cases, documentary evidence is available to pinpoint the acquisition of ceramics. This specific evidence provides the basis for inferences concerning ceramic purchases for household periods for which there is no documentation.

Approach to Ceramic Analysis

While the usefulness of ceramic analyses at the sherd level has been demonstrated, it is becoming increasingly clear of the value of analysis of ceramics at the vessel level. As stated earlier, household ceramics were purchased and used as vessels, thus obligating the archaeologist to conceptualized the archaeological remains as such. In order to derive a working estimate of the numbers of vessels represented by the collection, several assumptions are inherent in this analytic approach.

First, the archaeological record usually represents only a sample of what was in use in any given household. The size of this sample depends on the basic formation process which create archaeological deposits: breakage and/or disposal and preservation in the ground. Furthermore, total recovery of archaeological remains is rarely feasible and most collections thus, represent a sample of a sample.

Another assumption concerns the actual estimation of vessels from sherd fragments. The most reliable method for deriving vessel counts is to cross-mend sherds to physically reconstruct vessels. However, it is rare that complete reconstruction can be undertaken especially from surface finds where sherds are extremely fragmentary and widespread. Some attempts have been proposed recently for statistically estimating original vessel population from

sherd counts (Miller 1986). The most widely-held solution for this problem is the use of minimum vessel counts.

A minimum vessel count recognizes that a certain percentage of vessels can not be reliably identified from the comparison of vessel attributes, most commonly rims or bases. This is because unless these fragment can actually be fitted back together, it is possible that several vessels of the same ware and form are present. The minimum vessel counts, therefore, represent a conservation estimate of the total number of vessels present within a assemblage of sherds. In some instances, vessels can also be defined by unique attributes such as decorations, maker's marks, and appendages such as handles and spouts.

Perhaps the greatest constraint in reconstructing the ceramic consumption patterns of the Sheppard family lies in the specific nature of the archaeological record. The ceramics that were recovered from Meadow Farm can be grouped into two types of depositional categories: sheet refuse and intentional dumpings. The majority of the sheet refuse was recovered from a plowed field just east of the house and kitchen. Sheet refuse has been demonstrated to be a most valuable source of archaeological data especially in rural farmstead settings (Moir 1982). Although no quantitative study has yet been conducted as to the range of sizes of sherds, the sheet refuse contained the earliest ceramics, many dating to the 1810-1831 period, and the smallest sherds.

The fill of the two outbuildings, that were partially excavated by Buchanan, indicates the buildings were destroyed after 1870's and subsequently served as convenient trash repositories. The dense concentration of ceramics, glass, and metal and their relatively large size provided this evidence. Several

vessels from these deposits were able to be partially reconstructed. It is difficult to ascertain if these deposits were the result of gradual accumulation or a sudden disposal of household refuse.

Upon identifying a minimum number of unique vessels, a classificatory scheme was developed in view of the analytic goals of this project. Two major categories were distinguished: 1) utilitarian vessels and 2) table, tea, and toilet wares. The primary distinction between these categories was the clay body and to a lesser extent, the function of the vessel. Utilitarian wares included earthenware and stoneware food storage jars, crock, churns, and bottles. Table, tea, and toilet wares were defined primarily by a refined earthenware body which included pearlware, whiteware, and porcelain. Glazed earthenware forms of teapots and pitchers were also included.

Attributes assigned within these categories included ware, form, decoration, and size. These other attributes were recorded with the help of reference material from antique books and intact antique specimens. The latter were of immense help in determining vessel form and decoration. The antique reference books were particularly helpful in identifying and dating transfer-print patterns and maker's marks. A micro-computer database software package was adopted to record this information to permit subsequent statistical manipulation.

Although a minimum of 86 stoneware and earthenware utilitarian vessels were recorded, they were not included in the household correlation analysis. Such vessels, unless marked are most difficult to date accurately. In addition, utilitarian wares were considerably cheaper than the tableware of the period and did not embody the social status considerations of the refined earthenwares.

Mosby Sheppard Household 1810 - 1831

A minimum of 47 ceramic vessels were identified from the archaeological assemblage which could be associated with the Mosby Sheppard household at Meadow Farm. The ware types present represent the typical wares available to the American market in the first part of the 19th century. These wares are summarized below in Appendix 1 and listed in Table 1.

The only specific reference to the presence of ceramics at Meadow Farm during Mosby Sheppard's lifetime comes from the his estate inventory at his death in 1831. No references to ceramics purchases by the Sheppard household during this period are available. The ceramics in the inventory are listed in Table 2.

Mary G.C. Sheppard Household 1831-1845

The ceramic assemblage that could possible associated with the time period of Mary G.C. Sheppard's household was relatively sparse. Although the vessel count merely represents a conservative estimate, only 10 vessels were tentatively identified. Undoubtedly, the ceramic vessels listed in Mosby Sheppard's inventory continued to be used and may have remained serviceable throughout Mary's tenure. The ceramics that may have been purchased during this period are refined earthenwares, generally referred to as whitewares. These ceramics are listed in Table 4 and are discussed in Appendix 1.

The only documentary evidence for the presence of ceramics in the Mary Sheppard household comes from her account of sales to her son, John in 1845. This information is summarized in Table 5.

TABLE 1

MINIMUM VESSEL COUNT ATTRIBUTED TO THE MOSBY SHEPPARD HOUSEHOLD

<u>Ware</u>	<u>Decoration</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u># of Vessels</u>	<u>Date Range</u>
Blk. Glaze Redware	Plain	Coffee Pot	1	1760 - 1820
Blk. Glaze Redware	Plain	Jug	1	1760 - 1820
Blk. Glaze Redware	Plain	Jar	2	1760 - 1820
Blk. Glaze Redware	Plain	Tankard	1	1760 - 1820
Coarseware	Slip Decorated	Plate	1	1720 - 1820
Coarseware	Undecorated	Milk Pan?	2	1720 - 1820
Rhenish Stoneware	Blue Manganese	Tankard	1	1700 - 1800
Chinese Porcelain	Painted	Bowl	1	1786 - 1820
Chinese Porcelain	Painted	Bowl,Lg.	1	1786 - 1820
Chinese Porcelain	Painted	Plate	1	1786 - 1820
Chinese Porcelain	Painted	Dish	1	1786 - 1820
Chinese Porcelain	Painted	Cup	1	1786 - 1820
Chinese Porcelain	Painted	Saucer	1	1786 - 1820
Chinese Porcelain	Painted	Hollow ware	1	1786 - 1820
Pearlware	Blue Willow	Plate	5	1784 - 1830
Pearlware	Undecorated	Chamberpot	1	1780 - 1830
Pearlware	Dipped	Hollowware	2	1795 - 1830
Pearlware	Dipped	Bowl	1	1795 - 1830
Pearlware	Painted	Cup	2	1810 - 1830
Pearlware	Shell Edge,BI	Plate	5	1800 - 1830
Pearlware	Shell Edge,	Blue Dish	1	1800 - 1830
Pearlware	Shell Edge,Grn	Plate	4	1800 - 1830
Pearlware	Printed	Hollow ware	3	1795 - 1830
Pearlware	Printed	Plate	2	1795 - 1830
Pearlware	Printed	Dish	2	1795 - 1830
Pearlware	Printed	Cup	1	1795 - 1830
Pearlware	Printed	Bowl, Sm.	1	1795 - 1830

TABLE 2

MOSBY SHEPPARD'S INVENTORY LISTING OF CERAMICS (1831)

<u>Listing</u>		<u>Price</u> (in dollars)
Dishes, breakfast	4	
Plates, breakfast	24	10.00
Plates, Dining, China Soup	5	
Bowls, White	2	1.00
Tureen, China	1	
Dish, China	1	2.00
Plates, Pickle	6	
Plates	3	3.50
Dishes, Common	5	2.50
Dishes, Salad	7	2.00
Crockery Ware	1 lot	.50
Crockery Ware	1 lot	.50

TABLE 3

MINIMUM VESSEL COUNT ATTRIBUTED TO
THE MARY C. G. SHEPPARD'S HOUSEHOLD

<u>Ware</u>	<u>Decoration</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u># of Vessels</u>	<u>Date Range</u>
White ware	Printed "Canova"	Dish	1	1826 - 1848
White ware	Printed "Canova"	Plate	2	1826 - 1848
White ware	Printed "Tuscan Rose"	Plate	1	1814 - 1837
White ware	Printed "Tuscan Rose"	Baker	1	1814 - 1837
White ware	Printed "Floral"	Jug, lg.	1	1830 - 1840
White ware	Shell Edge	Plate	4?	1830 - 1845

TABLE 4

CERAMICS LISTED IN MARY G.C. SHEPPARD'S HOUSEHOLD
IN 1845

<u>Listing</u>	<u>Price (in dollars)</u>
Pot, Coffee tea pot and pitchers	6.00
Cups, one dozen and saucers	5.00
Plates, 2 dozen, dishes, tureen, knives and forks	10.00

John Mosby Sheppard Household 1845-1861

A minimum of 132 ceramic vessels were identified from the archaeological assemblage which were postulated to belong to the John Sheppard household at Meadow Farm for the period 1845 - 1861 (this study has selected 1861 as the cut-off date for the household analysis as the disruption of the Civil War had a great impact upon the household records). The wares which are represented are most typical of the period in terms of ware type and decorative technique. The overwhelming portion of the assemblage were whitewares. The identified vessels in Table 5 have been categorized according to the major decorative classes and are discussed in Appendix 1.

The documentary evidence for ceramic consumption during John's household was outstanding if not outright astonishing. The first record of the his household ceramics is found in the 1845 account of sales from his mother which was discussed in the prior section. Additional listings of ceramic purchased can be found in John Sheppard's account books between 1848 and 1869. The ceramic-related information was extracted from those accounts and is presented in Table 6.

In summary, this chapter has presented the ceramic data derived from archaeological analysis and the documentary records. The next chapter examines correlations of these data with the architectural and economic data from the farm.

Table 5

MINIMUM VESSEL COUNT ATTRIBUTED TO THE JOHN SHEPPARD HOUSEHOLD

<u>Ware</u>	<u>Decoration</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u># of Vessels</u>	<u>Date Range</u>
Bone China	Molded, Sprig	Jug	2	
Rockingham	Molded	Teapot	1	
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Baker	3	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Dish	1	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Hollow ware	3	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Lid	1	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Muffin Plate	4	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Plate	4	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Sauce Tureen	1	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Twiffler	3	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue "Hong Kong"	Basin, Lg.	1	1845 - 1849
White ware	Flow Blue, Painted	Plate	1	1840 - 1860
White ware	Flow Blue, Painted	Bowl	1	1840 - 1860
White ware	Shell Edge	Plate	6	1840 - 1860
White ware	Sponged	Hollow ware	1	1840 - 1860
White ware	Dipped, Banded	Hollow ware	5	1840 - 1860
White ware	Dipped, Banded	Jug	3	1840 - 1860
White ware	Dipped, Banded	Bowl	2	1840 - 1860
White ware	Molded Ironstone	Cup	11	1845 - 1865
White ware	Molded Ironstone	Saucer	5	1845 - 1865
White ware	Molded Ironstone	Plate	4	1845 - 1865
White ware	Molded Ironstone	Hollow ware	7	1845 - 1865
White ware	Printed "Abbey"	Baker	1	1851 - 1866
White ware	Printed "Abbey"	Sugar Bowl?	1	1851 - 1866
White ware	Printed "Abbey"	Plate	3	1851 - 1866
White ware	Printed "Abbey"	Soup Plate	1	1851 - 1866
White ware	Printed "Siam"	Baker	1	1839 - 1864
White ware	Printed "Siam"	Hollow ware	1	1839 - 1864
White ware	Printed, Blue	Basin	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Blue	Meat Strainer	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Blue	Cup	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral	Basin/Tureen	3	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral	Cup	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral	Handled Dish	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral	Hollow ware	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral	Muffin	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral	Plate	4	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral	Saucer	3	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral Vine	Plate	3	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral Vine	Saucer	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Floral Vine	Soup Plate	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Geometric	Plate	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Scenic	Dish	2	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Scenic	Tureen Lid	1	1840 - 1870
White ware	Printed, Scenic	Basin	2	1840 - 1870

Table 5 - continued

MINIMUM VESSEL COUNT ATTRIBUTED TO THE JOHN SHEPPARD HOUSEHOLD

<u>Ware</u>	<u>Decoration</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u># of Vessels</u>	<u>Date Range</u>
White ware	Blue Willow	Dish, Lg.	2	1830 - 1870
White ware	Blue Willow	Plate	3	1830 - 1870
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Dish	5	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Dish, Lg.	1	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Hollow ware	1	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Lid	1	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Plate -10"	4	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Plate -11"	4	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Plate - 9"	3	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Tureen Stand	1	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Tureen	1	1834 - 1859
White ware	Printed "Eagle"	Twiffler -6"	1	1834 - 1859

TABLE 6
CERAMIC PURCHASES IN THE JOHN SHEPPARD HOUSEHOLD

<u>Listing</u>	<u>Price</u> (in dollars)
<u>1845</u>	
Pot, Coffee tea pot and pitchers	6.00
Cups, one dozen and saucers	5.00
Plates, 2 dozen, dishes, tureen, knives and forks	10.00
<u>1848</u>	
China, 1 set	28.00
Cups, 1 doz. and saucers	1.50
Bowl, 1 blue, 2 mugs	.30
<u>1849</u>	
Coffee pot	.31
<u>1851</u>	
China and glass	6.54
<u>1852</u>	
China	1.00
<u>1853</u>	
Earthenware	3.20
<u>1855</u>	
Jars, 2 stone	1.00
Nappies, 2	1.25
Bowl, 1 Blue	.25
Mug	.13
Chambers, 2	.75
Pitchers, 2	.63
Chinaware	10.83
<u>1858</u>	
Ewer, and Basin	1.50

TABLE 6 - continued

CERAMIC PURCHASES IN THE JOHN SHEPPARD HOUSEHOLD

<u>Listing</u>	<u>Price (in dollars)</u>
<u>1860</u>	
1 Eagle bought of Stebbins and Pullen	32.00
Plates, 24 1st size	
Plates, 24 2nd size	
Plates, 24 3rd size	
Plates, 12 5th size	
Soups, 12 1st size	
Soups, 12 2nd size	
Dishes, 1 1st size	
Dishes, 1 2nd size	
Dishes, 2 3rd size	
Dishes, 2 4th size	
Dishes, 2 5th size	
Dishes, 2 6th size	
4 Covered Dishes	
2 Vegetable Dishes	
1 Soup Tureen	
2 Sauce Tureen	
2 Boats	
1 Salad	
2 Pickles	
Cups and Saucers, 1 doz. handles	1.50
Ice Cream Bowl, 1 White China	1.25
Bowl 2	.32
Jar, 1 4 gal. stone	.75
Chambers, 2 common	1.00
<u>1869</u>	
Cups	.25
Cups, 1/2 doz. and saucers	.80

CHAPTER 5.

CORRELATION OF CERAMIC ACQUISITION PATTERNS

This chapter examines the postulated ceramic patterning presented in the last chapter in light of the documentary evidence for ceramic acquisition at Meadow Farm. In addition, these ceramics are contrasted with the economic, architectural, and household data for each household. Land and personal property tax data and household demographic data, summarized in Appendix 2, are integrated into the discussion.

Mosby Sheppard

Only a very general picture of Mosby's household ceramic consumption can be drawn from this study. There is no overwhelming amount of archaeological evidence to suggest that great numbers of ceramics were used in the household. In addition, there is no clear relationship between household events and ceramic purchases.

It would appear from the archaeological data that ceramic purchases was limited to very small sets or individual pieces of dinner ware and tea wares. It would also appear, however, that on the basis of individual Chinese Porcelain pieces and the printed pearlwares, that some attempt was made to acquire these relatively expensive pieces. Initially, one could postulate that individual pieces were selected rather than a set, which demonstrated a consumption mode that recognizes status-display value of such pieces; but household economics restricts the purchase of the more desired complete sets.

However, a important clue in the 1831 inventory suggests that a set of Chinese porcelain was in service for the Mosby Sheppard household. The listing of four breakfast dishes (platters) and 24 breakfast plates is valued a \$10.00. An examination of merchant records for the period (Coates accounts 1830) indicates that these values are approximately four times the wholesale value of transfer-printed earthenwares. Thus, the inventory listing could be interpreted as Mosby Sheppard possessing a relatively high-valued set of porcelain. This conclusion would have been unobtainable from the archaeological data alone. Furthermore, without the knowledge of retail ceramic prices for the period, this interpretation would have been impossible to make.

As there is no documentary evidence to pinpoint the purchase date of the suggested porcelain set, one has to rely upon the date range of manufacture and/or popularity to suggest when this set may have been acquired. Unfortunately, based on the few archaeological sherds recover, most of the Chinese porcelain could easily date between 1780 and 1830 (there was no porcelain of European origin recovered).

Based on other household changes, however, the porcelain set may have been acquired during the 1820 - 1831 period. In 1820, a east addition effectively doubled the size of the house. In 1826, Mosby held an important political and social position, as sheriff of Henrico County. His attention to the painting and repair of his home during those years probably reflects this. Entries in his account book reveals a purposive attempt to improve the appearance of his home:

The work and materials are not to cost me more than \$100, the work is to be done in the very best manner of such colors as he shall be directed, and every part of the painting to have three coats. (Meadow Farm Account Books 1826).

In November of 1927, he paid Elijah Priddy for:

The taking down of old shingles and shingling 12 squares and 22 feet; taking off of old weathrboarding 10 square and 70 feet; and making six feet of chair and washboard (Meadow Farm Account Books 1827).

From his estate inventory, a quantitative breakdown of Mosby's worldly goods is available. In an attempt to discern the relative economic importance of household tables wares in the family, an analysis of the listed household goods was performed. This analysis identified nine major categories of goods: furniture, accessories, utility items, ceramic-table ware, ceramic-utilitarian, personal items, weaving-related, firearms, and agricultural implements. Table 7 shows the acquisition of furniture, 24% of household items, to be an overwhelming consumer choice in terms of its relative value. Far behind, but still significant was the listing of a gold watch, categorized as a personal item, which accounted for 9% of the household goods. Tablewares make up only 3% of the total and utilitarian crockery accounts for 2%. In contrast, a single firearm is listed which accounts for 2% of the total value of estate goods.

The relative investment in these household items was further analyzed in comparison to the value of the slaves (5840.00), and the land holdings and buildings (7787.00). It becomes quite clear, that the total investment in all households was minuscule when the total value of the personal property and holding is considered.

TABLE 7
ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIVE VALUE
OF CERAMICS IN CONTRAST WITH OTHER GOODS
LISTED IN MOSBY SHEPPARD'S ESTATE INVENTORY

<u>Category</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
furniture	210.00	24%
accessories	31.00	4%
utility items	52.00	6%
ceramic-table ware	24.00	3%
ceramic-utilitarian	17.00	2%
personal items	80.00	9%
weaving-related	25.00	3%
firearms	20.00	2%
agricultural implements	395.00	46%
Total:	854.00	

Total Value of Slaves: 5840.00

Total Value of Land and Building: 7787.00

Percentage of Value of Household Goods
in Comparison with Slaves and Land: 6%

Percentage of Value of Ceramics
in Comparison with Total Wealth: 0.2%

Mary G. C. Sheppard

The apparent ceramic consumption pattern of Mary Sheppard's household could reflect several factors. Based on a reading of the archaeological, architectural, and documentary evidence, one can envision a widow trying to raise children, managed the household as well as a large farming operation. As such, Mary appears to have invested little money and/or time in acquiring new household goods.

The ceramic pieces associated with this time period probably reflect the acquisition of a few transfer-printed vessels and other individual pieces. A conservative interpretation of the date range of manufacture of the vessels within this period would suggest only a very few new ceramics were acquired by Mary Sheppard.

It appears that from the 1845 sales account of the household furnishings to her son, John, that the set of dishes interpreted as the Chinese porcelain was still in service in the household. A listing for a dozen cups and saucers are also included with the household china. Their stated value of \$5.00 also indicates that these were most likely expensive porcelain items. Not surprisingly, in view of the previous discussion of the apparent biases in the archaeological record for the presence of porcelain, there is no archaeological evidence to account for these cups and saucers. It would appear that these relatively expensive items were curated by the household and perhaps passed on to relatives.

In general, though, the overall pattern of acquisition for this period is not surprising in light of the available evidence. It is unfortunate that more historical data was not forthcoming to provide an accurate picture of household income during this period as it would be very easy to attribute the

lack of ceramics to a lowered income. The question now arises, if the income level remained fairly constant or even high from the farming operation, how was the household disposable income spent? Was money spent on her son's education at the University of Pennsylvania's Medical School? Was money dispersed to the other children? Until more historical evidence becomes available many of these questions will remain unanswered.

John M. Sheppard

Of all the households thus far studied, the John M. Sheppard household provides the best evidence for illustrating specific correlations of ceramic consumption. This ability to provide these correlations is the direct result of having account records of ceramic purchases, tax records, household data, and architectural evidence.

When John purchased the farm in 1845, he also obtained a houseful of furniture and accessories which included the previously proposed set of porcelain dishes. At that time, there is evidence that he had constructed his doctor's office in the yard. In addition, it appears that he had added a Greek Revival front porch to the house (Cook 1982). One can picture a young professional on the verge of becoming highly successful. Soon after his marriage, he obtained a new set of dinner ware in 1848 which was been archaeologically documented as the flow blue "Hong Kong" pattern. Although the set is not describe in detail in the records, it is apparent from the variety of vessels that the set represents an occurrence of a major dinner service at Meadow Farm. So like in many young households, a new set of china was an important acquisition.

In the ensuing years, the household added a child at the rate of almost one per year. Unfortunately, the income figures for the period were unavailable. However, the personal property tax returns for the period show an increasing growth of wealth. A lot of china and glass was purchased in 1851, perhaps replacing household breakage. A dollar's worth of china was bought in 1852. In 1853, a lot of "earthenware" was purchased. It is uncertain what this purchase constitutes as the term earthenware could refer to utilitarian storage jars although one could suggest that some of the white ironstone may have been obtained at this time.

In 1855, a large lot of ceramics was purchased. The account entries are fairly specific with the unfortunate exception of the most expensive (\$10.83) item which is only listed as chinaware. It is suggested that this purchase of "chinaware" may be represented archaeologically by the partial sets of blue-printed patterns. Perhaps by that time, household breakage had impacted the "Hong Kong" dinner set and these other pieces were added.

It is apparent from the 1855 personal property tax return that John was prospering. Sixteen slaves are listed in that year, an increase of six from the 1854 tax list. There is also architectural evidence reflecting the prosperous tract of this household. Sometime between 1854 and 1858, a two-story wing with shed is added to the main house, almost doubling its size (Cook 1982).

Subsequently, in 1860 John purchased the "Eagle" pattern dinner set consisting of 132 vessels for \$32.00. No cups and saucers were listed in the set and in the same purchased, John buys a dozen cups and saucers with handles. The ceramic evidence suggest these cups and saucers may have been molded white ironstone. In addition, he purchases several other ceramic vessels.

Another question arises, was there any other significant household and/or economic activity during 1860? The most striking correlation comes from the personal property tax lists for that year. His number of slaves has increased dramatically to 22. But the most obvious new entry in the tax list is a new carriage, valued at \$300.00. With nine children, a most successful tobacco crop, a greatly expanded house, and a new carriage, the purchase of the "Eagle" set is also included in the household acquisitions.

In summary, the correlation of household events and economics with the Meadow Farm ceramic assemblage has been best accomplished for John Sheppard. This has been primarily due to the good documentation for his household and a large number of identifiable vessels which could be attributed to this period. The analysis has shown that a set of flow blue china was acquired in the household soon after the marriage. Subsequently, small additions to the household ceramics were made during the primary child-rearing years. Some attempt was made to purchase partial sets or at least pieces similar in color and design. As the child-bearing years come to a close and John Sheppard has started to prosper, a second large dinner set is acquired with a period of twelve years. This acquisition correlates directly with the purchase of an new carriage and the completion of an extensive addition to the house.

CHAPTER 6.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PROBLEMS
OF STUDYING CERAMIC ACQUISITION

The analysis of ceramics from Meadow Farm has illustrated some of the basic problems historical archaeologists have with correlating ceramic consumption with economic and social factors. One of the goals of this study was to show the importance of documentary and architectural information in augmenting the interpretation of the discarded dishes and plates of the 19th century Sheppard family.

Part of the success of the study is due to the body of historical knowledge that permits the chronological ordering of ceramic types and decorative motifs. This knowledge has been assembled by ceramic historians and antiquarians interested in English ceramics. The Meadow Farm collection has retained very little spatial information of the kind that might be used to accurately date features and deposits. Thus, drawing upon ceramic histories of manufacturers and pattern names, the artifacts themselves provided the dating information and not their specific archaeological context.

Although the date range of many 19th century ceramic patterns is known, without the account entries of ceramic purchases during John Sheppard's household, some significant misinterpretations may have occurred. The initial analysis in this study periodized the ceramic assemblage without the benefit of knowing any account entries other than the 1860 purchase of the "Eagle" pattern dinner set. This led to many interesting interpretations for the purchase date and function of the other major dinner set identifiable from the assemblage (the flow blue set of the "Hong Kong" pattern).

Given the date of the manufacturing of the pattern (c. 1845 -1849), the most immediate observation made was that this set represented the "wedding" china of John Sheppard and his wife, who were married in 1847. Further speculation was given to the fact that possibly this china may not have been purchased at all by John Sheppard and that it probably represented a gift, possibly from Virginia Ann Young's family. However, upon examining the household accounts for this period, an 1848 entry was found for the purchase of "1 set china" from the auction of a B. B. Allen. In retrospect it was just as important to correlate the purchase of the "Hong Kong" set with the beginning of the John Sheppard household rather than link it directly to the single historical event of his marriage. It is interesting to note that although John had purchased some relatively expensive set of dishes from his mother in 1845, that an obviously larger and more complete set was needed.

Further research is needed to determine if B. B. Allen's auction, where the 1848 flow blue dinner was purchased, was an estate sale. One of the routine assumptions that historical archaeologists seem to make is that ceramics were acquired directly from store merchants or through inheritances. It would be significant to document an example of the recycling of ceramics from one household to another.

One of the most recent archaeological attempts to reconcile the "representiveness" of the archaeological record is research into the problem of estimating the original ceramic content of household (Miller 1987). Again, this problem is more directly related to disposal patterns rather than consumption. However, the two patterns are very much interrelated. In many ways, this problem could well be addressed with the Meadow Farm assemblage since some idea of the original vessels "population" is available.

The general comparison of the documented vessels and the number derived through the minimum vessel count is interesting. A minimum of 189 pieces of tableware were identified from the ceramic assemblage for the period 1810-1861. During the same period over 300 vessels are found in the documents. In addition, several unspecified amounts of ceramics are listed in the records.

Although statistical analysis is lacking, some interesting observations can be made concerning the vessel count. The first issues concerns whether or not total numbers are necessary. In the case of Meadow Farm, trying to calculate the actual number of ceramic vessels represented by the archaeological sample may be no more than a methodological exercise. The most important aspect of the vessel counts of this assemblage, so far, has been the ability to distinguish between matched sets of dishes and single items. This ability may ultimately be the most useful estimate of the former ceramic base of a given household, at least for mid-range and higher socio-economic households.

One of the most intrinsic issues related to ceramic disposal is estimating ceramic breakage rates in a given household. Accordingly, some have tried to reconstruct consumption and disposal based on an "average" breakage rate per year (Miller 1974). Other factors of ceramic "disappearance" from households include survival, estate sales and the biases in archaeological sampling. Although these issues have yet to be fully addressed at Meadow Farm, it is interesting to note that sherds of both the "Hong Kong" and the "Eagle" dinner sets have been found in surface scatters at outlying cabin sites. These sites presumably represent the occupation of freed slaves, post 1865. The excavation of these sites may one day provide some insight into the post-civil

war years of Meadow Farm, especially into the recycling of the household ceramics.

The analysis of the archaeological and documentary evidence has confirmed what many archaeological studies have previously discovered; that the expensive, highly value items rarely are deposited in an archaeological context. This has been demonstrated by the fact that very few porcelain vessels were identified archaeologically although the documentary evidence suggests that well over fifty porcelain vessels were in use in the household.

Factors of Ceramic Consumption: An Evaluation

While the ceramic assemblage at Meadow Farm has provided some valuable insights into many methodological issues within Historical Archeology, another contribution is an initial basis for ultimately understanding the role of ceramics in a rural household. It is hoped that this study will eventually serve as a baseline from which more general comparisons can be drawn. These comparisons should include both rural and urban examples and would require a controlled-comparison of the factors of ceramic availability, economic and social variables, and an understanding of the lifecycle stage of the household under study. The significance for controlling these factors is discussed below.

Availability

A summary review of merchant records for the period has suggested the range of wares available to the consumer. It is notable that Potter (1982) was able to demonstrate the availability of the full range of English wares in rural Rockbridge County, Virginia for this period. This fact implies that this same

range of ceramics would have been available for most urban centers along the eastern seaboard.

The English potteries dominated the American tableware trade during this period. Their products included a wide range of decorative types primarily on a earthenware body. Merchants located in the urban centers of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston, had ready access to the English products. Richmond merchants were well established during this period and could have undoubtedly furnished much of what was available to the majority of the American market.

A look at some of the merchant's advertisements for the period of this study reveals some important insights for understanding how household ceramics were acquired and how they were intended to function within the household. The most important element in the marketing of household ceramics is that certain vessels were conceptualized as belonging to a "set" whereas other vessels served more individualized functions. The following excerpts from the Alexandria Gazette reveal this important concept (Shephard 1985: 112-113):

1810

"An elegant assortment of GOODS in his line consisting of gold and silver lustre pitchers, tea setts, chomney ornaments, chamber setts, tea and coffee cups of various patterns,... china in setts half dozens, waiters, and bread trays,... Stone, potters ware,..."

1834

Goods which R.H. Miller "is anxious to dispose
of at moderate prices. Among them are:
Blue, brown & purple Dinner Services
" " " Plates & other table ware
" " " Bowls, Mugs and Tea Ware
" " " Ewers & Basins & Toilet Sets
China Tea Sets, and Cups & Saucers, plain and gilt
China Pitchers, Mugs, Bowls &c. do do
India China Dinner Service, dishes and plates extras
Blue and green-edged, cream-colored and painted or
enamelled Ware, in all their varieties

1850

"CHINA, GLASS AND QUEENSWARE--Robt. H. Miller
(Importer)

French Porcelain Vases, richly decorated and gilt

do do Tea Sets, Gold Bank, &c

do do Cups and Saucers do do

do do Dining & Tea Sets pure white

Cups and Saucer and other articles separate

White Granite, flowing blue and mulberry

Dinning Sets, Toilet Sets, Pitchers, Mugs, &c

Canton China Dining Sets

A last issue, which has also been raised (Adams and Gaw 1977), is the problem of lag time (the time it takes for products to reached the market), especially in remote areas. For the most part, it is difficult to assess the problem of lag time for the Meadow Farm assemblage. The purchase of the flow blue dinner set in 1848 was made exactly in the middle of its date range of manufacture. On the other hand, the purchase of the "Eagle" set came one year after its manufacture ceased operations. If one had to rely upon the operating dates (1834 - 1859) of the company (the only dates usually available), a significant misinterpretation of the acquisition of this pattern may have occurred based solely of the archaeological evidence.

Economic Standing

An overall economic standing of a household can be ranked using personal property and land tax records. In the absence of these documents, it becomes more difficult to recontruct the economic level of a household. However, even when records are available, it is sometimes difficult to assess their accuracy. Probates records, for example, have been demonstrated to contain considerable biases especially under-representation of certain items (Carr and Walsh 1980).

Reconstructing actual income is generally most difficult unless specific household accounts exist or salary records exist especially in the case of government officials, for example. If income figures are available, it becomes necessary to understand how the money was spent. Again, household accounts are generally required in order to make this determination.

In the case of the Sheppard family, a number of detailed account books are available. This study has dealt only with the ceramic purchases that appeared in the account books. Future research, once all the information is extracted from the accounts, will contrast the overall consumption patterns of the different households. One particular project could compare the quality and quantity of clothing-related purchases with other display-oriented consumables.

Research conducted on the distribution of wealth in Henrico County indicates that Mosby Sheppard fell within the top 20% of the total population in terms of accumulated wealth. One of the earliest indicators of his wealth occurs in the 1815 luxury tax list. This list, prompted by the need to raise funds for the defense against the British, taxes many "luxury" items for the first time. A study of the distribution of luxury items in Williamsburg and York County in 1815 provides some comparable means of ranking Mosby Sheppard's taxed goods (Smart 1986). For example, his ownership of "1 clock works of wood with case, 1 Mahog. c. drawers, and 3 mahogonay dining tables" ranks him high with the residents of Williamsburg and within the top 10% of York County residents.

Although it difficult to determine figures for household income, further evidence for Mosby Sheppard economic standing is found in his ownership of land. Beginning with 66 acres in 1810, Mosby increased his holding to 266

acres by 1817. In 1820, he obtained another 72.5 acres. By 1827, he held over 500 acres. At his death in 1831, he held over 700 acres, valued at \$6787.00.

One of the most important commodities of the rural farm communities in Henrico County was the ownership of slaves. In 1810, 4 slaves are listed at Meadow Farm. This number remained fairly consistent until 1821, when 7 slaves are listed. This number increased at the rate of 1 every two years until 13 slaves are taxed in 1831. Apparently only males slaves over the age of sixteen were considered taxable as the estate inventory listed 13 males slaves and 9 female slaves for a total of 22 slaves.

The economic status of Mary's tenure as the head of the household is particularly difficult to interpret without the benefit of income data. However, the farming of the property continues during this time period. While she apparently inherited the bulk of her husband's household goods and property, it is hard to reconstruct her income based on the tax lists. The tax lists for the period show that she continued to own a fair number of slaves. In addition, she maintained most of the landholdings although some property may have been sold. It is interesting to note that the amount of personal property tax that she paid between 1833 and 1845 is considerably less than her husband paid between 1819 and 1829. This, however, could reflect a change in the tax structure rather than a lowering of household consumption.

The primary evidence for the economic trends for the John Sheppard household come from the personal property tax lists for the period. In addition, the 1860 agricultural census provides a summary of the value of the property at that time. In terms of its relative economic wealth, this household ranks in the upper 25% within Henrico County (Smart 1982). Apparently, a resurgence of tobacco growing in the county, due to the expansion of the

cigar industry, accounted for much of John Sheppard's economic success. This involvement in tobacco growing is reflected by the increasing number of slaves owned by John between 1855 and 1860. As tobacco growing is an extremely labor-intensive undertaking, the additional slaves were necessary for its success. This success is reflected in the 1860 agricultural census listing of 4000 pounds of tobacco grown at Meadow Farm that year.

Social Position

If archaeology is to be truly regarded as a social science, it must make a pronounced effort to identify and control social factors. Controlling solely for economic variables will only provide an indication of how much money a household can spend rather than how it is spent. Unfortunately, a social system is difficult to reconstruct historically, much less archaeologically.

For most of his life Mosby Sheppard was a small planter who managed ✓ not only his farm but perhaps his mothers farm as well. Little direct evidence is yet available to reconstruct his social network although his family ties suggest that he had a wide sphere of influence among the established families of Henrico and Hanover counties. Furthermore, given the historical depth of his family, Mosby was primed to establish a network of social relationships among the economic and political elite of the county.

His role in the squelching of the Gabriel's slave rebellion may have provided him a legacy of social respect throughout his generation. His relative economic status within the community placed into the upper 20% of the county's population at that time. Perhaps the most visible observation of Mosby's social standing within the community was his service as the Sheriff of Henrico County and Justice of the Peace.

It is fair to assume that Mary Sheppard maintained her social position in the community although direct historical evidence is lacking for this assumption. John's medical practice may have reinforced the Sheppards social status, if not elevate it in the eyes of the established families of Henrico and Hanover counties.

A detailed study of John Sheppard's social contacts has yet to be conducted. Through the study of his personal correspondence, one could reconstruct the extent of his social relations. As for now, this study has relied upon the inference that John's household enjoyed a relatively high social stature. This can be attributed to the historical depth of the Sheppards and the fact that his wife came from a wealthy background in Caroline county. In addition, the household should have been accorded the social respect worthy of a college-trained physician.

Further research is also needed to reconstruct the specific social network of the Sheppard family. Along these lines, the comparative study of the architectural trends in Henrico County may reveal a context-sensitive statement of the Sheppards socio-economic class. Much of this data has already been gathered through an inventory of existing historic architecture in the county (Odell 1976). A study could easily contrast tax data, architectural information, geographical setting, and inventory data of the Sheppard contemporaries. With regard to the topic of this thesis, that research could ultimately serve as the basis of a research design for the archaeological recovery of ceramics from throughout the county.

Household Lifecycles

Household composition, a factor which directly affects household consumption, has been largely ignored by archaeological studies. In the case of urban sites, where the size of a household can increase or decrease dramatically within a short time period, it has been nearly impossible to reconstruct the actual occupants responsible for acquisition and disposal behaviors. This has been true for many rural sites also. Unless good documentation for household composition is available, studying acquisition patterns becomes relatively meaningless. In the case of the Sheppard family, outstanding documentation is available to help interpret the ceramic acquisition pattern. The architectural changes to the farmhouse over the years are the obvious events to reconcile in light of the evolution of the household.

After Mosby Sheppard built his house at Meadow Farm with his new bride, the development of the household took on a straight-forward character. The Sheppards had 7 children between circa 1811 to 1820. Perhaps the sheer number of household members caused Mosby to almost double the size of his house with an addition in 1819-1820 (Cook 1982). Evidence for other major household events occurs in 1826 when Mosby was elected sheriff of Henrico County.

The major life course of the Mary Sheppard household appears to be devoted to the rearing of teen-age children. The historical evidence is unclear as to when the children begin to leave home. It does indicate that the oldest son William and the four daughters do marry although the dates of marriage are unknown. No further evidence was available to indicate architectural modifications or as previously discussed, major ceramic purchases.

John Sheppard graduated from medical school in 1840 and sets up practice at the farm. After John purchased the farm from his mother, he married Virginia Ann Young in 1847. Subsequently, between 1848 and 1861, the Sheppards had 10 children. Little is specifically known about his career although it is obvious that he continued to manage the farm as well practice medicine. A major expansion of his house sometime between 1854 and 1858 probably is a direct reflection of his growing family. Likewise, the purchase of the large "Eagle" dinner set reflects the developmental stage of the household in terms of family size and age.

Summary

This study of the Meadow Farm ceramic assemblage has provided an important example of how household ceramics can be approached from an archaeological perspective. Faced with numerous bags of poorly provenience sherds, this analysis has attempted to show their relative value in the absence of many standard archaeological controls.

In spite of the absence or presence of archaeological controls, the study emphasizes from the outset that certain explicit factors influenced the ceramic acquisition of the different Sheppard households. As simplistic as these factors may have been delineated, very few archaeological analyses have explicitly dealt with all or even some of these factors. Unfortunately, this fact is a poor commentary on the maturity of historical archaeology to operate in the same sphere of other social sciences. This study has attempted to reveal the potential for a more comprehensive understanding of the cultural

values formerly attached to the broken bits of ceramics one finds scattered in the ground.

This study has been one example, however, where the basic economic and household controls have been present. From this study, greater comparisons may eventually be drawn. Unlike the historian who can reconstruct hundreds of households from census data in a single week, or the ethnographer who can interview a hundred households in a month, and the prehistorian who can excavate a 100 household pueblo in a single year, the recovery of historical archaeological data from a hundred households could take a hundred years. The labor intensive extraction of archaeological data is the archaeologist's burden. Whether ceramic studies in historical archaeology will eventually contribute meaningfully to the understanding of cultural systems remains to be seen.

APPENDIX 1
SUMMARY OF CERAMIC TYPES AT MEADOW FARM

Mosby Sheppard Period Wares

Black Glazed Redware

A minimum of five black glazed redware vessels was identified from the ceramic assemblage (Plate 4 g-h). This ware was used throughout the 18th century and was in common use through the 1830's. The most common vessels forms for this ware were utilitarian jars, jugs and pots exemplified by the vessels represented at Meadow Farm. Locally made as well as imported, black glazed redwares could be considered as relatively inexpensive, utilitarian wares.

Pearlware

Developed in the late 18th century, pearlware quickly became the standard earthenware body for tableware until about 1830. Initially, developed to imitate the costly Chinese porcelain popular at the time, this body served as the medium for a variety of decorative techniques. Work by George Miller has introduced a classification system for the relative ranking of the value of pearlware decorative techniques (Miller 1980). The 28 pearlware vessels identified at Meadow Farm exhibit the entire range of these decorative types. These types are: (from the cheapest to the most expensive) plain, or cream colored (CC), edged, painted, dipped, and printed.

Plain or CC. - A single chamber pot represents this decorative type which is typically reserved for the cheapest and most utilitarian forms (Plate 5a). This form could date between 1790 and 1830.

Edged - Edge decorated wares were the most widespread treatment of pearlware flatwares. The most common edge decoration is referred to as shell-edged. A minimum of four green plates, 4 blue plates and one blue dish were identified, represented by only 13 sherds (Plate 5 b-d, g). Although more subtle dating of shell-edged wares can be accomplished based on the shaped of the edge treatment, these wares most likely were purchased between 1810 and 1832.

Dipped - Dipped decoration was reserved for hollow ware forms only. Three vessels were identified, based on five sherds, exhibiting dipped decoration: 1 bowls and 2 unattributed hollowares, probably bowls or mugs (Plate 5 e-f). These ceramics could range in time from 1795 to 1830 although it is most likely that were purchased for use after 1810.

Painted - Painted decoration, especially Chinese motifs, was the earliest form of pearlware decoration. Two small cups, one having a Chinese design the other having a floral design were found at Meadow Farm (Plate 6a). These must certainly date to the early part of Mosby Sheppard occupation.

Printed - The process of transfer printing, one of the most costly of the decorative techniques, was first used in the to decorative creamware and white saltglazed. The first, intensive use of transfer printing on pearlware begins in the 1790s with the appearance of pseudo-chinese motifs or chinorrise as it was called. The most popular transfer print pattern to developed is known as the Willow Pattern first introduced in 1784 and somewhat standardized by 1800. A minimum of 5 Willow plates were identified (Plate 6d), probably representing

portions of a large matched set of plates only as no Willow hollow ware was found. Other transfer print patterns, as yet unidentified as to the pattern name, are represented by 3 hollow ware forms, 2 dishes, 1 cup, 1 bowl and 2 plates (Plate 6b). These vessels most likely date between 1815 and 1830 and may represent portions of a two, small sets of tableware.

Chinese Porcelain

The importation and use of Chinese Porcelain ("china") had a great influence and the English pottery industry and the American consumer during the latter half of the 18th and early 19th century. The cost of porcelain was generally three to four times more expensive of most English plain and edged earthenwares and at least a third as much higher than transfer-printed wares. Seven vessels are represented in the Chinese porcelain assemblage at Meadow Farm (Plate 6e-g). The forms found archaeologically, 2 bowls, 1 plate, 1 dish, 1 matched cup and saucer, and a hollow ware form suggest the purchase of individual items rather than the acquisition of a set.

Miscellaneous Wares

Several other ware types are represented in the Meadow Farm assemblage for this period. Of these 2 coarse ware vessels were identified which were probably locally-available and may have served primarily as utilitarian vessels rather than tableware. A single fragment of 18th century Rhenish stoneware was recovered from an outlying cabin site perhaps indicative of the yet unexplored, earlier occupation of the property.

Mary Sheppard Period Wares

Whiteware

Although the pearlware body continued to be used into the 1850s and possibly later, the ware seems to have been restricted to hollow ware forms. There has been considerable debate regarding the differentiation of pearlware from white ware. Suffice it to say here that the term whiteware was somewhat arbitrarily applied to those wares exhibiting a denser, whiter paste.

Although the distinction between pearlware and whiteware can be temporally significant, the most important vessel attribute for the period, as Miller (1980) has emphasized, remained decoration. Only two types of decoration were present in the assemblage for this period: edged and printed.

Edged - The common shell-edge decoration continued to be used throughout this period. Based on the edge molding and the whiteware body, a minimum of four plates were identified for this period. These wares most likely were purchased between 1830 and 1845.

Printed - By the 1830's, transfer-printed decoration was widely used and varied considerably in terms of colors and patterns. Two printed patterns were identified from the assemblage.

"Tuscan Rose" - This printed pattern represented by two vessels: a purple baker (vegetable or serving dish) and a blue dinner plate (Plates 7d and 8). The pattern was used by the English firm of John and William Ridgeway who operated from 1814-1837 (Williams 1975:51). It is likely that other firms may have also used the pattern. Based on the date range of manufacture for the known companies, it is reasonable to suggest that this pattern was purchased during the Mary Sheppard household period.

"Canova Pattern" - This pattern was made by Thomas Mayer, at Stoke-on-Trent, c. 1826-35 (Williams 1975:214). Other, undocumented firms also produced this pattern. Two plates and a dish were identified during the vessel analysis (Plates 7e and 9). These pieces may represent the remains of a set of dishes. It is as likely, however, that they only represent a partial set.

John Sheppard Period Wares

Edged, Dipped, and Painted Whitewares

These decorative techniques continued to be used on English whiteware bodies well into the 1860s. These inexpensive wares were probably relegated to utilitarian functions. A minimum of six shell edge plates were identified. The dipped and sponged decoration was found on a minimum 11 hollow ware forms.

Flow Blue Decorated Whitewares

Flow blue decoration was produced by many Staffordshire potters. It was very popular in the 1840s and was nominally higher in cost than most transfer-print patterns (Miller 1980). Twenty-one vessels were identified from the assemblage representing a dinner set. The pattern of the matched set was identified as "Hong Kong" (Plate 10 a-e), a pattern made by Charles Meigh between c. 1845 and 1849 (Williams 1971:29). The set was attributed as a dinner set as no tea ware forms were found. Two other flow blue vessels (interestingly a cup and saucer) were identified in an unrelated, painted pattern.

Transfer-printed Whitewares

Transfer-printed wares continued to dominate the English ceramic industry. A wide variety of patterns depicting oriental, romantic, gothic, and floral scenes were available to the average American consumer. Of the patterns represented in the Meadow Farm ceramic assemblage only three could be identified with any certainty for the 1845-1861 period. The remainder could only be attributed by the type of pattern, i.e. floral, scenic, etc.

"Abbey" - This blue-printed pattern, represented by a minimum of six vessels, was manufactured by Livesly, Powell and Co. (1851 - 1866) (Williams 1975:174). It was estimate that at least a partial set of this pattern was in use at Meadow Farm during this period (Plate 11c).

"Siam" - Another partial set of a blue-printed pattern was identified and attributed to the firm of Joseph Clementson (1839 - 1864) (Williams 1975:160). Only two hollow ware forms were represented in the assemblage (Plate 11b).

"Eagle" - Sherds of this pattern, in purple, have been found almost everywhere on the Meadow Farm property (Plate 12s a-e and 13). The Eagle pattern was made Podmore, Walker, and Co. who operated under that name between 1834 - 1859 (Williams 1975:622). A minimum of twenty-two vessels have been distinguished. A 132 piece dinner set of this pattern was purchased by John Sheppard in 1860.

Unattributed Printed Patterns - Another 28 vessels having printed patterns were found. In most cases, so little of the vessels is present that it was difficult to identify a specific pattern. Dating of these vessels was primarily based on the lighter blue color of the sherds which was most common in the 1840's and 1850's. A wide range of vessel forms are

represented including two large basins. Five Willow pattern vessels were also included in the vessel estimation for this period (Plate 14 a-b).

Molded White Ironstone

The molded white ironstones were introduced in the late 1840s and early 1850s, in stark contrast to the transfer-printed wares. When first introduced, these wares were slightly more expensive than the common printed patterns (Miller 1980). The molded white ironstone became extremely popular in the 1860s and 1870s and was produced in various molded motifs including the most popular wheat pattern. Although a tremendous amount of white ironstone is present in the Meadow Farm assemblage, only those vessels that can be accurately dated to before 1861 are included in the vessel count. Twenty-seven white ironstone vessels were identified of which 11 are cups.

Miscellaneous Wares

Numerous sherds of Rockingham-glazed vessels have been recovered at Meadow Farm. The majority of these vessels are teapots and jugs, including at least three "Rebakah at the Well Teapots". Although Rockingham in these forms does occur after 1852, it was felt that the majority of the vessels probably post date 1860. As a conservative measure, only one teapot was attributed to the 1845-1861 period. Other miscellaneous wares dating to this period included fragments from two sprigged bone china jugs (Plate 15 and 16).

APPENDIX 2

PERSONAL PROPERTY TAXES, LAND TAXES, AND HOUSEHOLD HISTORIES OF THE SHEPPARD HOUSEHOLDS

1809 - 1861

(Source: Henrico Country Tax Records and unpublished documents on file at Meadow Farm Museum)

1809

Personal Property taxes:

4 slaves, 4 horses/mules tax 2.24

1810

Personal Property Taxes:

4 slaves, 4 horses/mules tax 2.24

Land Taxes:

66 acres Value 22 pounds tax .36

building of 20' x 28' house. The story and-a-half frame house was built on a brick foundation over an English basement. The house plan had one large room with a fireplace and a passage opposite the chimney that contained a staircase to the second floor. Other buildings included a barn and a kitchen.

circa 1810 - married Mary Glen Crenshaw Austin

1811

Personal Property Taxes:

4 slaves, 4 horses/mules tax 2.68

Land Taxes:

66 acres Value 22.00 tax .36

circa 1811 - birth of William Austin Sheppard

1812

birth of Alexander Hamilton Sheppard

1813

Personal Property Taxes:

5 slaves, 3 horses/mule tax 2.84

Land Taxes:

66 acres Value 73.36 tax .46

1815

Personal Property Taxes:

6 slaves, 3 horses/mules, 10 cattle, 1 gilt silver or pinchbeck watch,
\$1000 house in country, 1 clock works of wood with case, 1 Mahog
c. of drawers, 3 mahog dining tables tax 8.30

Land Taxes:

66 acres Value 73.26 tax .62
100 acres Value 111.11 tax .94

birth of Elizabeth Mosby Sheppard

1817

Personal Property Taxes:

5 slaves, 3 horses/mules tax 4.24

Land Taxes:

166 acres Value 186.26 tax 1.38
100 acres Value 157.00 tax 1.18

birth of John Mosby Sheppard

1819

Personal Property Taxes:

4 slaves, 3 horses/mules, 1 coach tax 8.24

Land Taxes:

166 acres Value 184.20 tax 1.28
100 acres Value 157.00 tax 1.18

building of a west end, two-story addition to the house.

other births Susan Ann, Mary Lousia, Mary Glen Crenshaw Sheppard

1820

Land Taxes:

166 acres Value 2659.32(includes 1000.00 building) tax 3.33
100 acres Value 1000.00 tax 1.25
72.5 acres Value 729.00 tax .91

possible building of an east-end addition.

1823

Personal Property Taxes:

6 slaves, 3 horses/mules, 4 wheels \$250(coach) tax 9.25

Land Taxes:

72.5 acres Value 725.00	tax .58
266 acres Value 2660, 1000 building	tax 2.13
72.5 acres Value 725.00	tax .58

1825**Personal Property Taxes:**

8 slaves, 3 horses/mules, 1 carriage \$200	tax 6.12
--	----------

Land Taxes:

72.5 acres Value 725.00	tax .58
266 acres Value 2660, 1000 building	tax 2.13
72.5 acres Value 725.00	tax .58
100 acres Value 800.00	tax .72

1827**Personal Property Taxes:**

10 slaves, 4 horses/mules, 1 carriage \$200	tax 7.18
---	----------

Land Taxes:

260 acres Value 2660.00	tax 2.13
145 acres Value 1450.00	tax 1.16
100 acres Value 900.00	tax .72

circa 1826-27 - repair work, home improvement and painting
Elected Sheriff of Henrico County.

1829**Personal Property Taxes:**

8 slaves, 4 horses/mules, 1 carriage \$200	tax 5.60
--	----------

Land Taxes:

479 acres Value 4790.00 \$1000 building	tax 3.84
240 acres Value 2220.00	tax 1.78

1831**Personal Property Taxes:**

13 slaves, 4 horses/mules, 1 carriage & 1 gig \$250	tax 5.99
---	----------

Land Taxes:

479 acres Value 4790.00	tax 3.84
240 acres Value 1997.12	tax 1.60

Death of Mosby Sheppard. Inventory of estate.

1833**Personal Property Taxes:**

7 slaves, 4 horses/mules, 1 carriage \$200.00	tax 3.99
---	----------

Land Taxes:

300 acres Value 3000.00 1000.00 building	tax 2.40
--	----------

1835

Personal Property Taxes:

7 slaves, 5 horses/mules, 1 carriage & gig tax 5.85

Land Taxes:

57.5 acres Value 531.88 tax .43
 300 acres Value 3000.00 1000.00 building tax 2.40
 84.75 acres Value 783.94 tax .63

1837

Personal Property Taxes:

7 slaves, 5 horses/mules, 1 carriage \$200 tax 4.50

Land Taxes:

57.5 acres Value 531.88 tax .43
 300 acres Value 3000.00 1000.00 building tax 2.40
 84.75 acres Value 783.94 tax .63

1839

Personal Property Taxes:

6 slaves, 5 horses/mules, 1 carriage \$200 tax 5.20

Land Taxes:

57.5 acres Value 531.88 tax .54
 300 acres Value 3000.00 1000.00 building tax 3.00
 84.75 acres Value 783.94 tax .79

1845

Personal Property Taxes:

6 slaves, 5 horses, 1 clock, 1 Piano-\$60 tax 3.67

Land Taxes:

142.25 acres Value 1138.00 tax 1.14
 300 acres Value 3000.00 1000.00 building tax 3.00

1845

John Sheppard (age 26) purchased farm and household goods from mother; many of the items are the same as which appear on Mosby Sheppard Inventory

1846

Personal Property Taxes:

10 slaves, 4 horses, 1 carriage-\$100, 1 gold watch, 1 piano-\$100
 tax 6.89

Married Virginia Ann Young

1847

Personal Property Taxes:

6 slaves, 3 horses, 1 carriage-\$80, 1 patent leather watch,
1 piano-\$80 tax 10.12

Land Taxes:

142.25 acres Value 1138.00 tax 1.14
300 acres Value 3000.00 1000.00 building tax 3.00

1849

birth of Helen Virginia Sheppard

1850

Personal Property Taxes:

11 slaves, 3 horses, 1 carriage-\$60.00, 1 watch, 1 clock, 1 piano-\$80
tax 9.62

Land Taxes:

142.25 acres Value 1138.00 tax 1.14
300 acres Value 3000.00 1000.00 building tax 3.00

Birth of Mickleborough Young Sheppard

1852

Birth of Nannie Mosby Sheppard

1853

Birth of Mary Elizabeth Sheppard

1854

Personal Property Taxes:

10 slaves, 4 horses/\$220, 1 carriage-\$40, 1 watch-\$30, 1 clock-\$30, 1
piano-\$75
also 25 cattle sheep hogs \$100
gold, silver, plate and jewelry \$50
all household and kitchen furniture \$150
aggregate of value \$680 tax 5.36

Birth of Isabella Sheppard

1855

Personal Property Taxes:

16 slaves, 5 horses/\$225, 1 carriage-\$40, 1 watch-\$30, 1 clock-\$10, 1
piano-\$75
also 28 cattle sheep hogs \$125
gold, silver, plate and jewelry \$75
all household and kitchen furniture \$200
aggregate of value \$780 tax 7.36

Birth of Susan Ann Sheppard

1858

Birth of Maria Louisa Sheppard

1859

Personal Property Taxes:

20 slaves, 5 horses/\$400, 1 carriage-\$25, 1 watch\$25, 1 clock-\$5, 1 piano-\$75
 also 35 cattle sheep hogs \$150
 gold silver, plate and jewelry -\$75
 all household and kitchen furniture \$150
 aggregate of value \$905

tax 16.42

1860

Personal Property Taxes:

22 slaves, 5 horses/\$300, 1 carriage-\$300, 1 watch-\$20, 1 clock-\$5, 1 piano-\$75
 also 30 cattle sheep hogs \$200
 gold, silver, plate and jewelry \$50
 all household and kitchen furniture \$150
 aggregate of value \$1125

tax 19.70

1860 Agricultural Census

Improved acreage	150
Unimproved	280
Cash Value	\$6000
Value of farm	\$125
implement and machinery	
Wheat, bushels	150
Indian corn	400
Oats	100
Tobacco lb of	4000
Bushels, sweet potatoes	100
Butter, lbs. of	250
Hay, tons of	3
Value of animals slaughtered	\$150.00

Birth of Emily Florence Sheppard

1861

Personal Property Taxes:

24 slaves, 6 horses/\$300, 2 carriages-\$200, 1 watch-\$30, 1 clock-\$5, 1 piano-\$50
 also 2 cattle \$100, 35 hogs \$150, no sheep
 gold silver, plate and jewelry \$75
 all household and kitchen furniture \$150
 aggregate of value \$1200

tax 22.38

PLATES

Key to Plates

PLATE 1. - Front view of farmhouse

PLATE 2. - Rear view of farmhouse

PLATE 3. - Side view of farmhouse (facing west)

PLATE 4. - Painted whitewares, black-glazed redwares, molded stonewares

PLATE 5. - Plain, edge-decorated, and dipped pearlwares

PLATE 6. - Painted and printed pearlwares, Chinese porcelain

PLATE 7. - Printed whitewares including "Tuscan Rose" and "Canova"

PLATE 8. - Example of "Tuscan Rose" plate

PLATE 9. - Example of "Canova" plate

PLATE 10.- Flow blue decorated whiteware, "Hong Kong" pattern

PLATE 11.- Printed whitewares; "Willow", "Siam", and "Abbey"

PLATE 12.- Printed whitewares; "Eagle Pattern"

PLATE 13.- Printed whitewares; "Eagle Pattern"

PLATE 14.- Printed whitewares; large dishes, "Willow" and unidentified pattern

PLATE 15.- Bone china jug sherds

PLATE 16.- Example of bone china jug



PLATE 1



PLATE 2

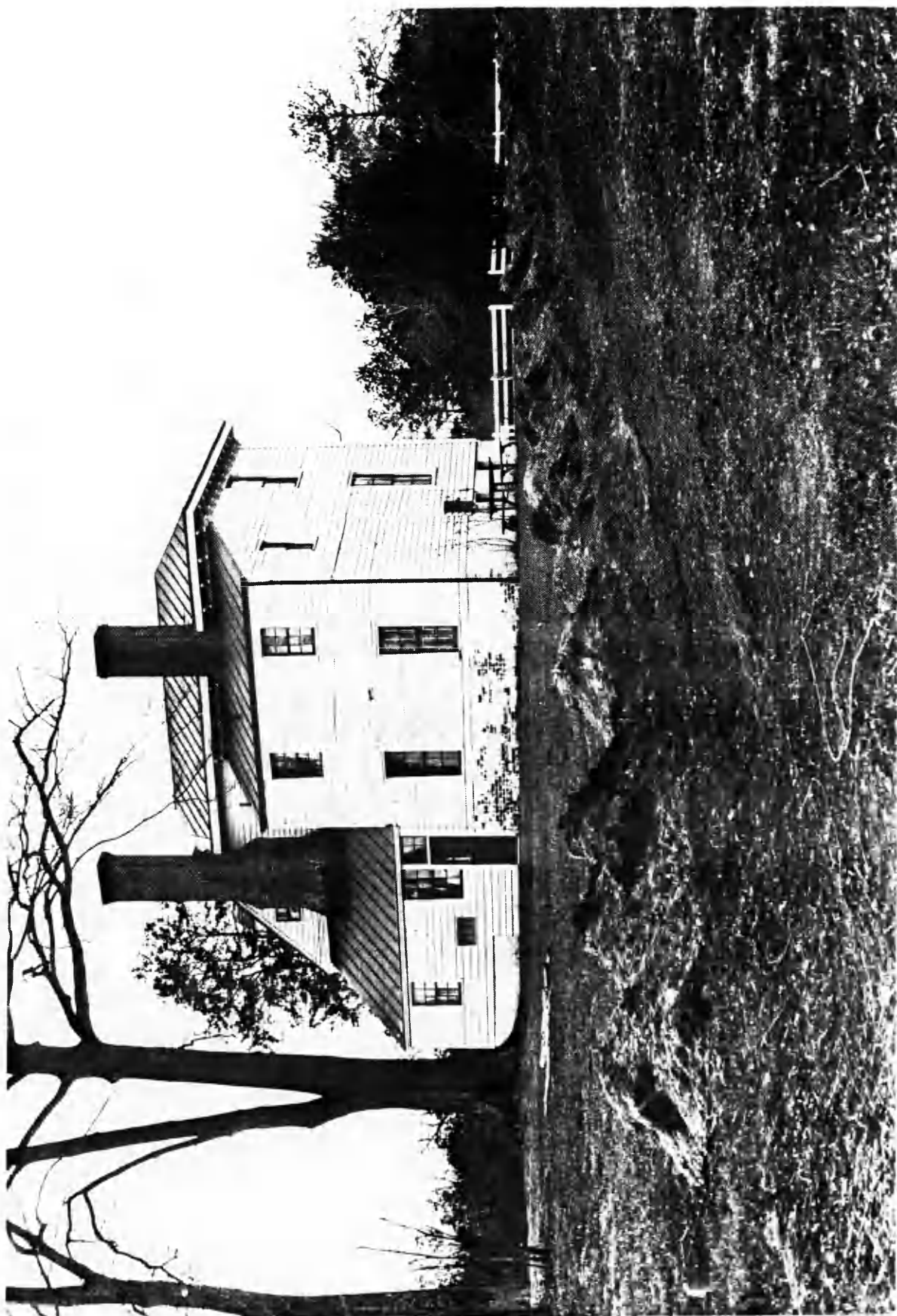


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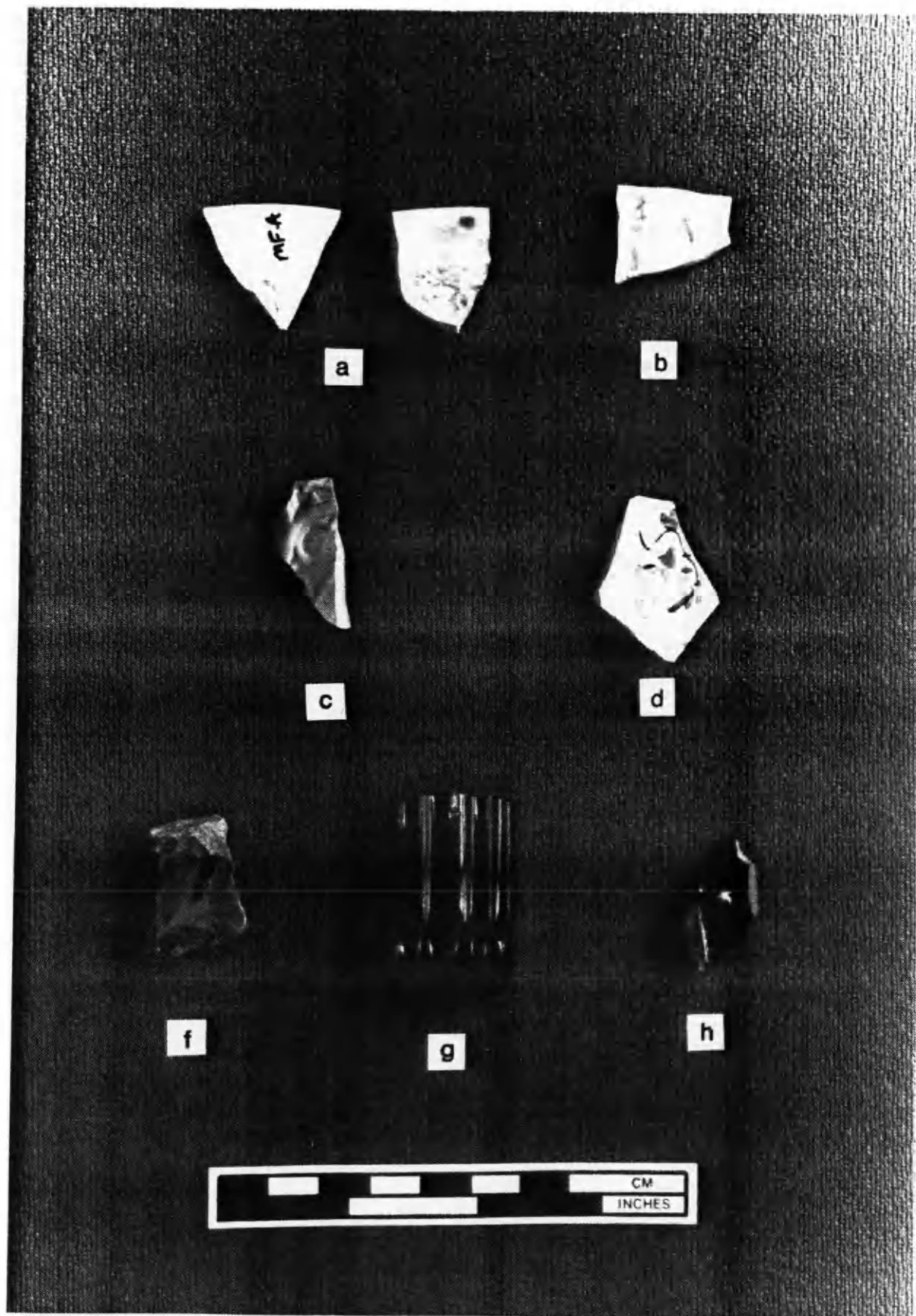


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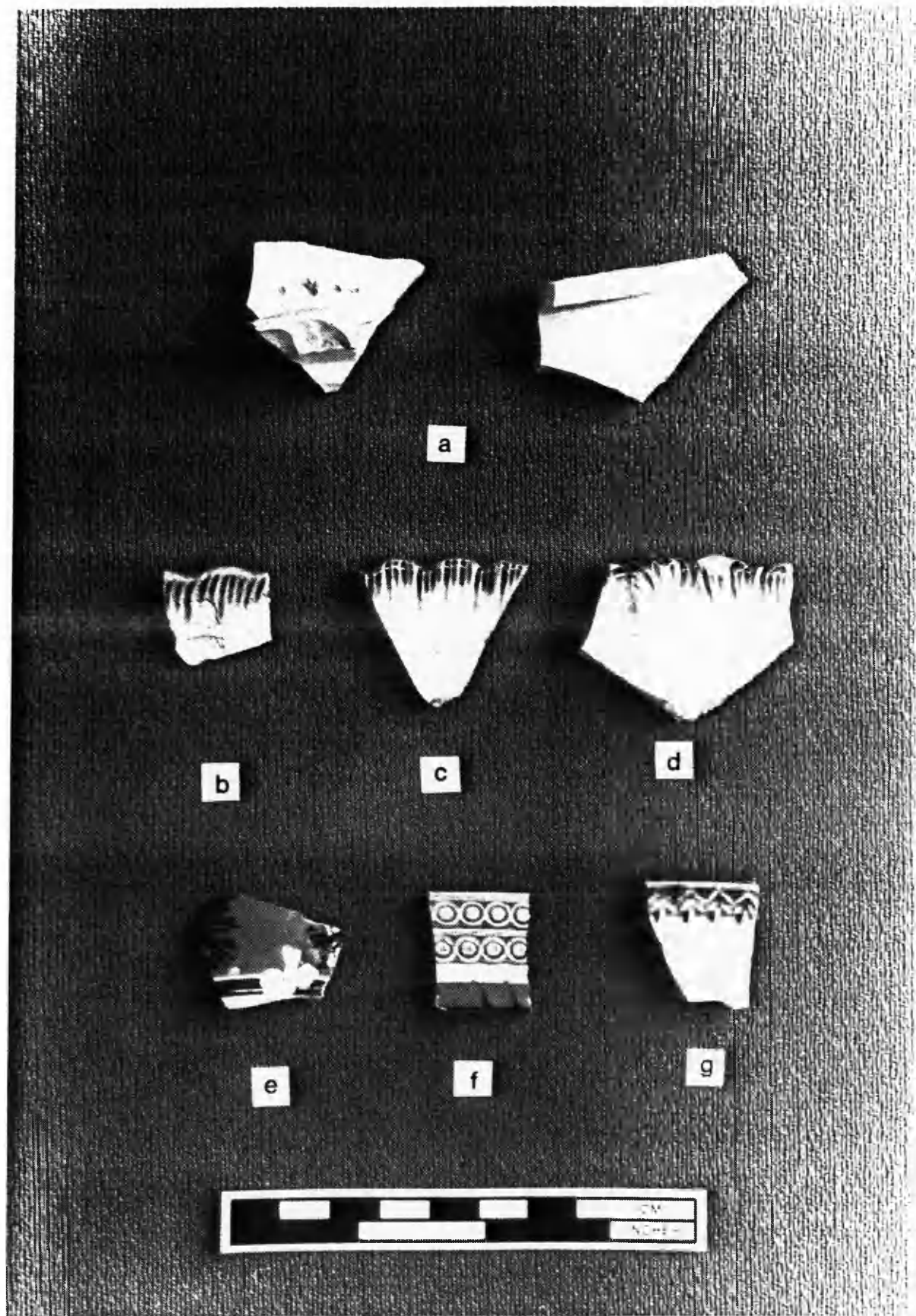


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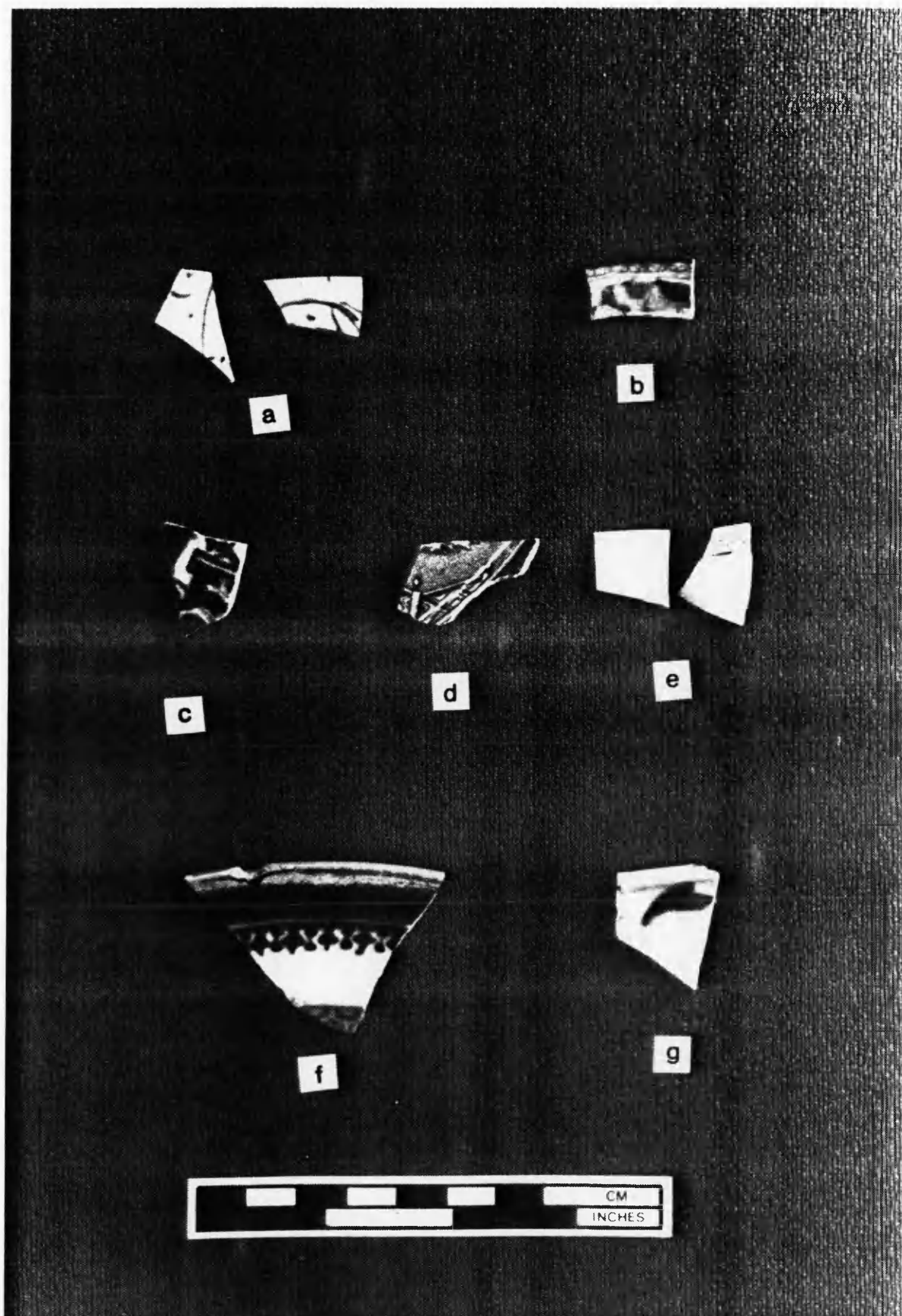


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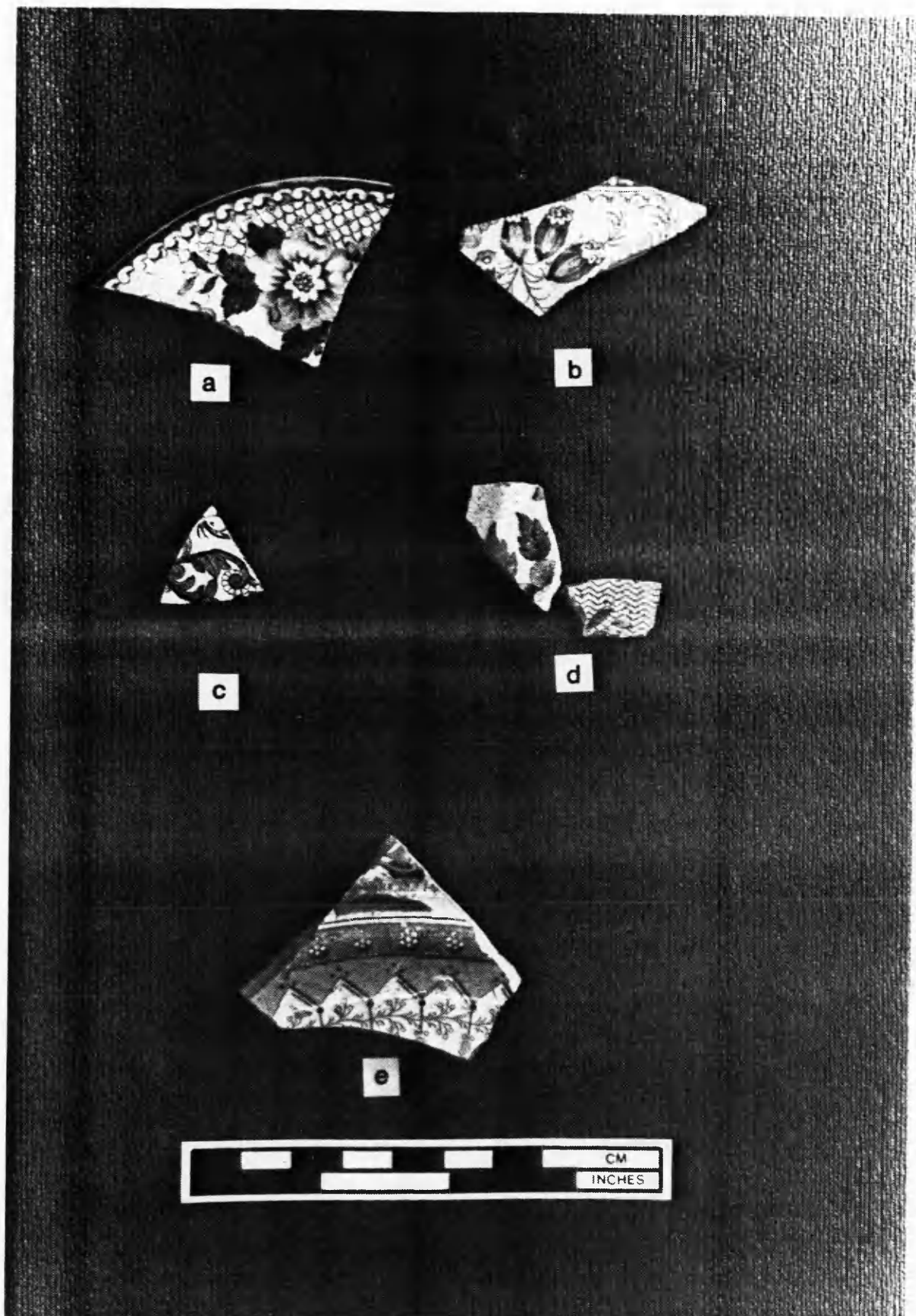


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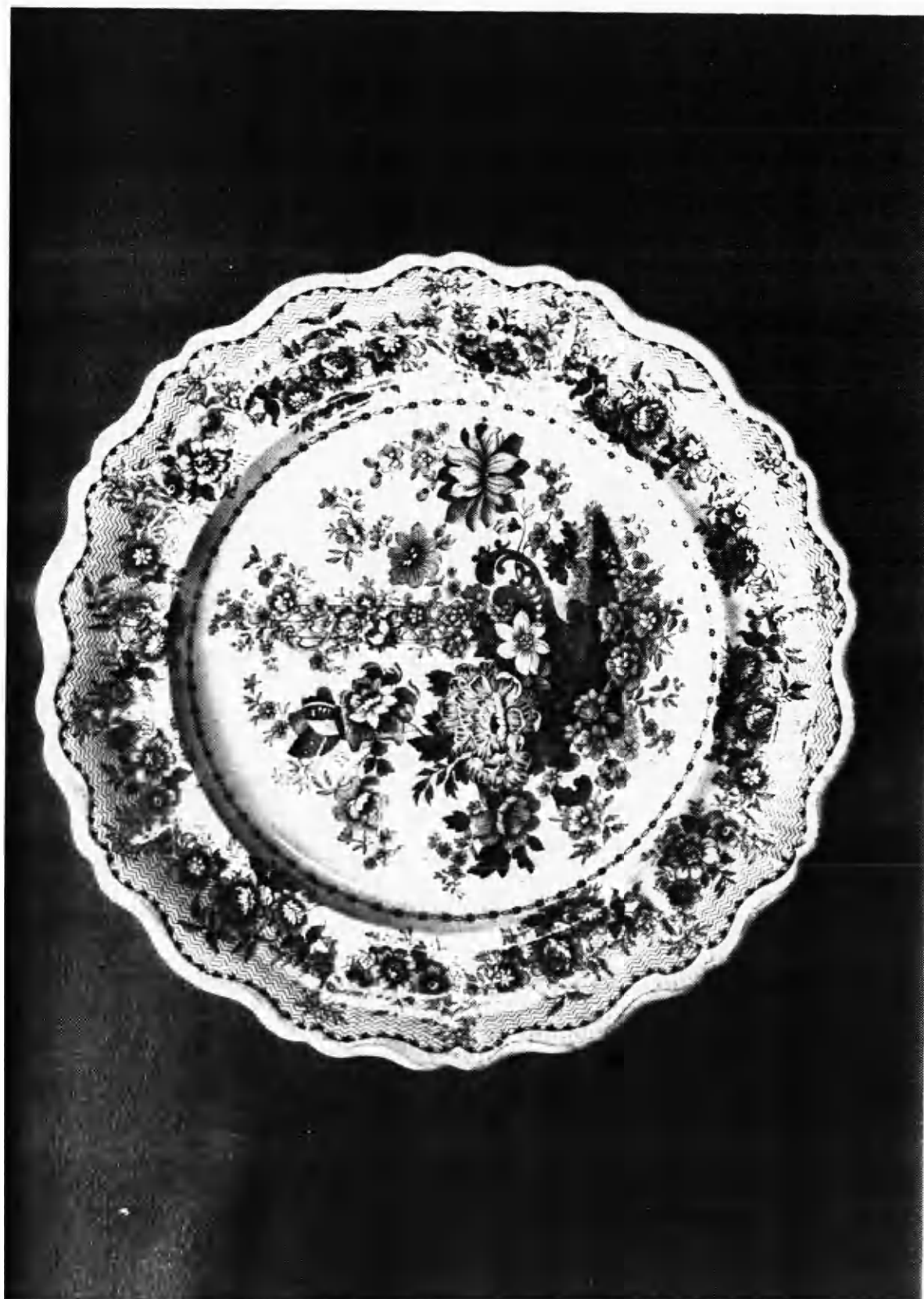


PLATE 8



PLATE 9

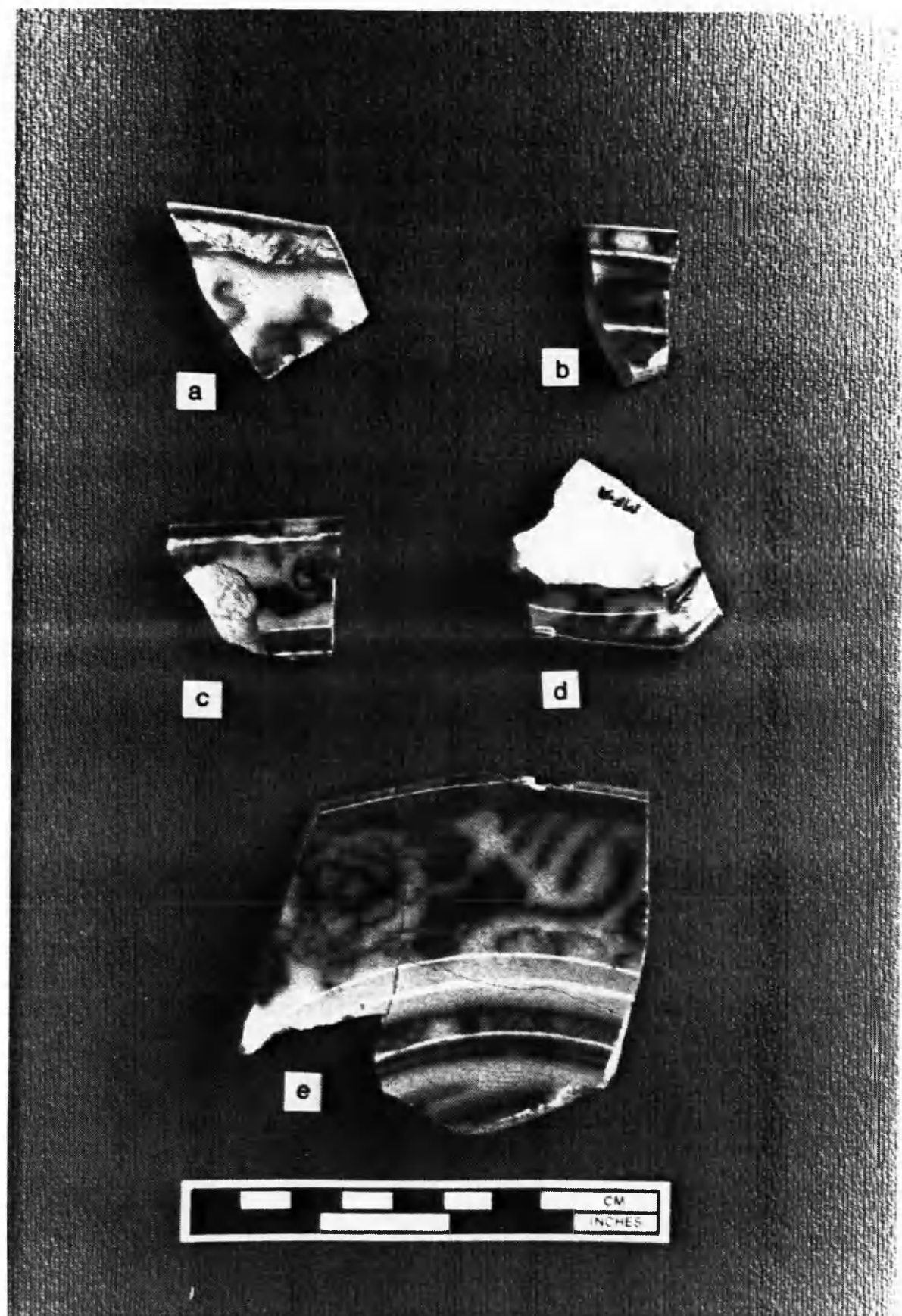


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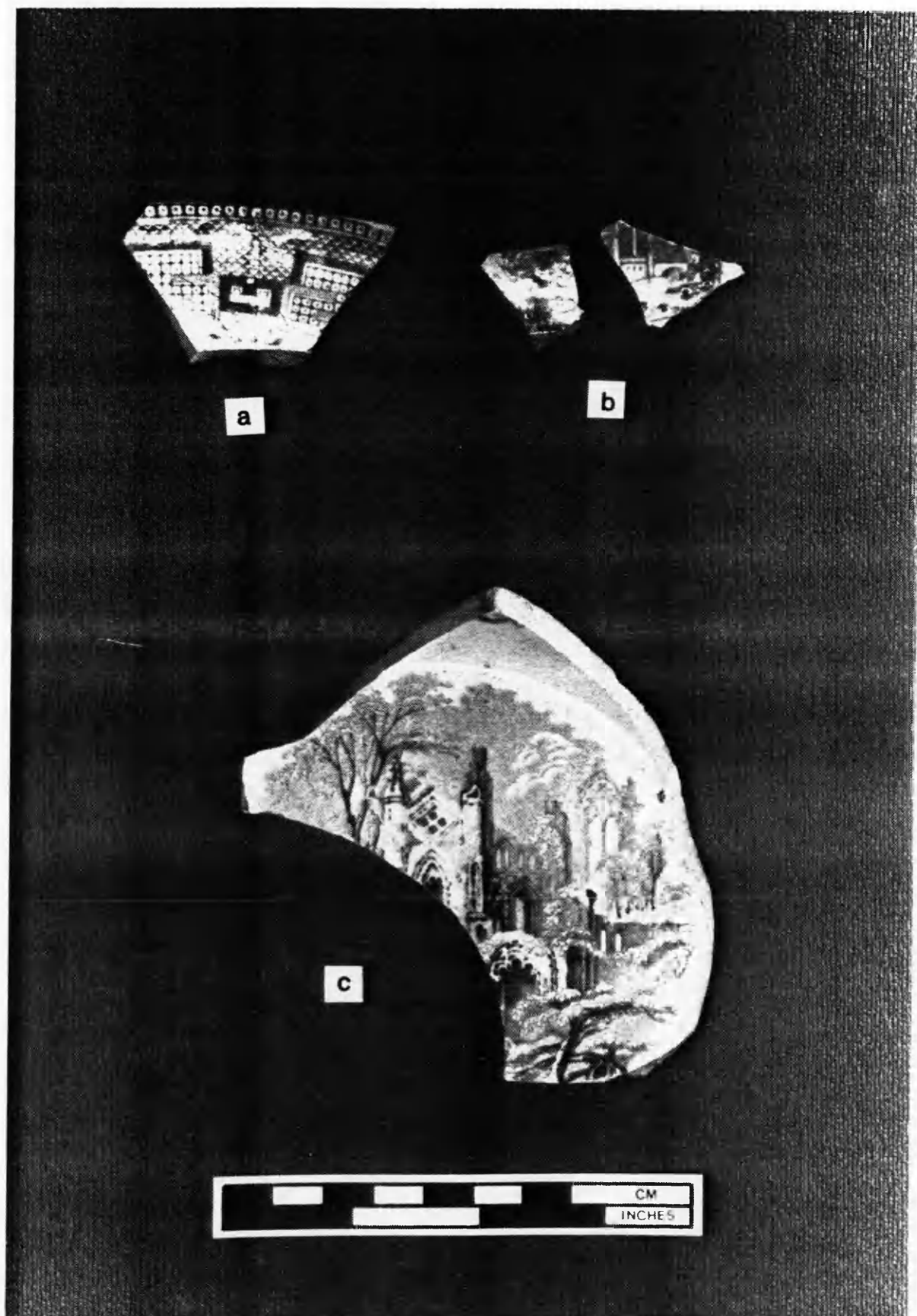


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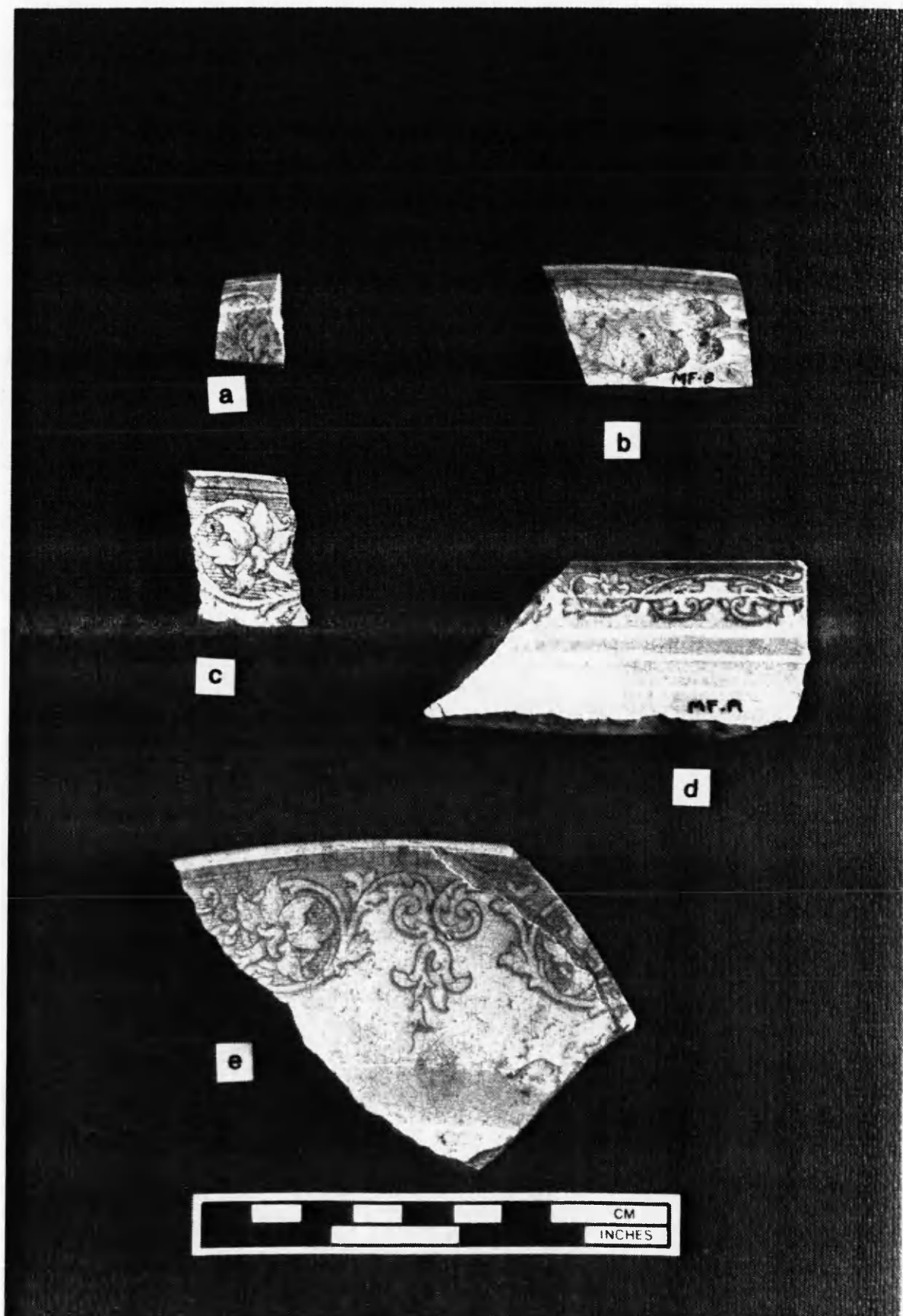


PLATE 12



PLATE 13

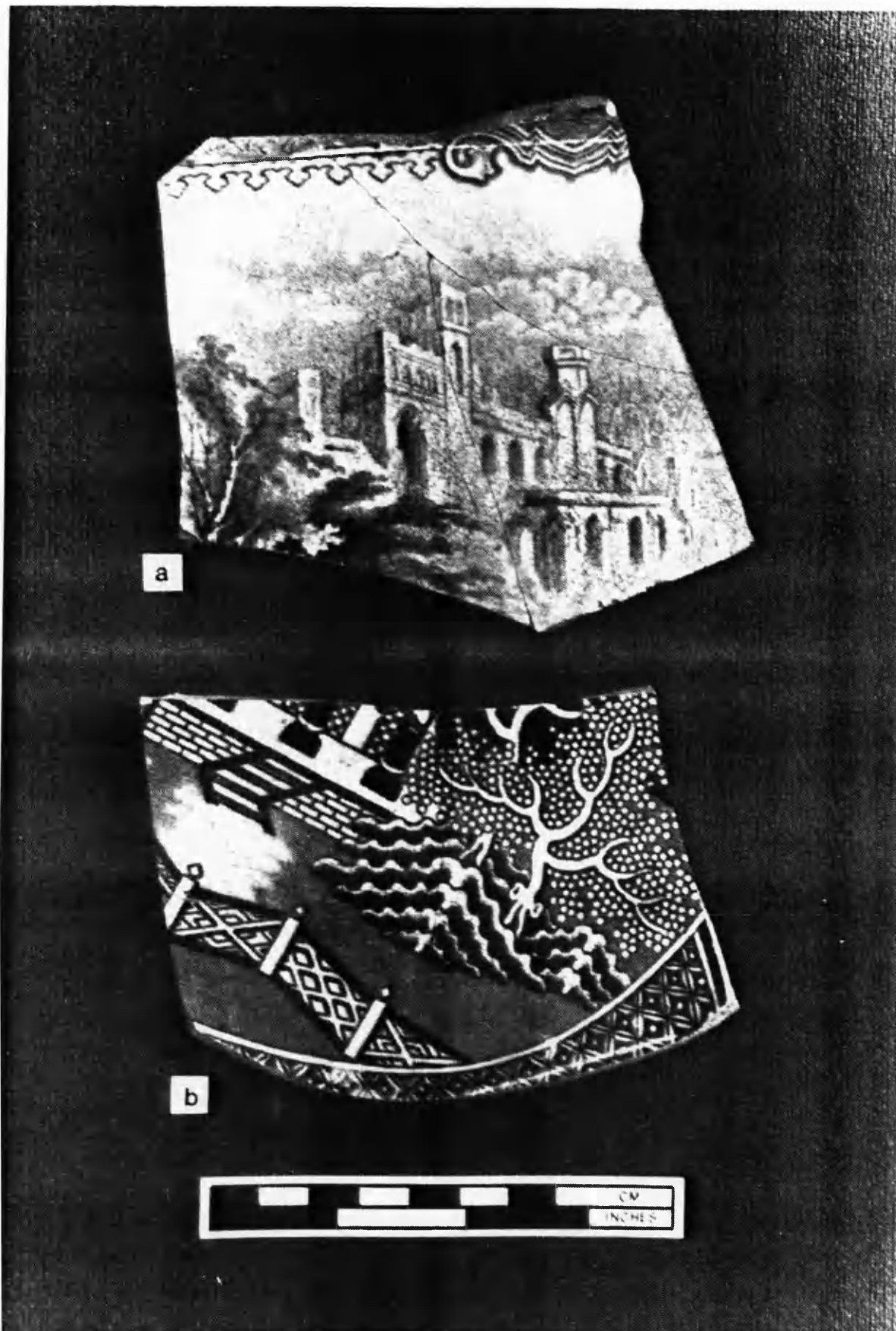


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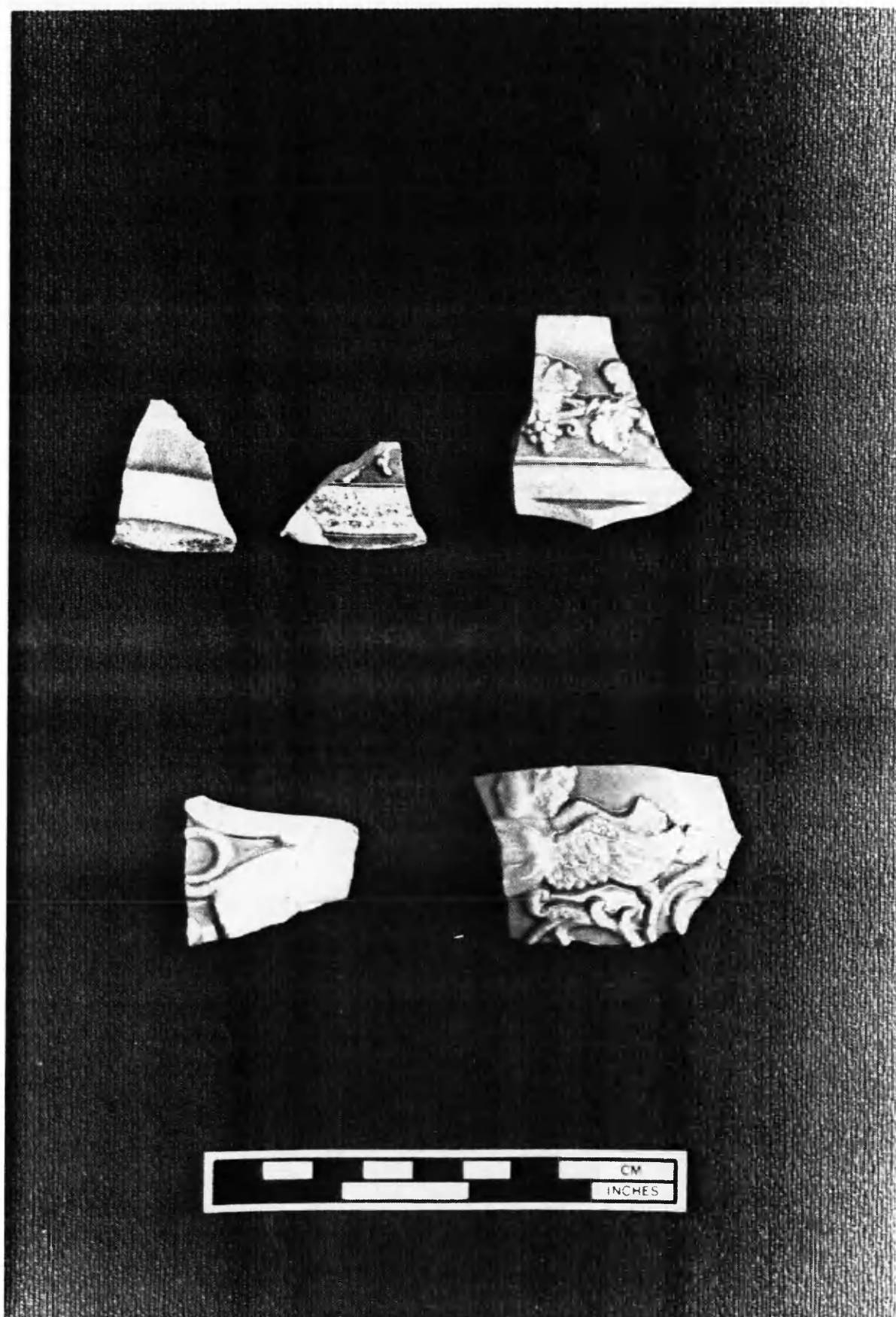


PLATE 15



PLATE 16

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